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HISTORY  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE  
DEATH OF HENRY VIII.

TO THE  
*ACCESSION OF JAMES VI. OF SCOTLAND TO  
THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.*

BEING A CONTINUATION OF  
DR. HENRY'S HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN,  
AND WRITTEN ON THE SAME PLAN.

THE THIRD EDITION.

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*BY JAMES PETTIT ANDREWS, F. S. A.*

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VOL. II.

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# HISTORY

OF

## GREAT BRITAIN.

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### BOOK VII.

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#### CHAP. III.—PART II.

##### SECTION I.

HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND  
LAWS, OF ENGLAND, FROM A. D. 1547, to A. D. 1603.

ALTHOUGH in examining the state of the English constitution, [1] during the latter half of the sixteenth century, we shall find no variation in the great outline, yet some useful observations may be made on the slow gradation

Cent. XVI  
Slow progress of the commons in importance.

VOL. II. B of

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#### NOTES.

[1] An author is hardly justified in calling that system of government a constitution which is every instant violated. Such was the case of the English government under the Tudors; let whatsoever statute be enacted, the proclamation from the monarch, and even the decree of council during a minority, annulled the helpless law, and derided the subject who claimed its protection.

HIST. OF ENGLISH LAW.

**Cent. XVI.** of the commons towards national importance. Browbeaten, fined, and imprisoned, by the most stern of sovereigns, they had yet gained, before the close of Elizabeth's long reign, a sort of passive courage, which rendered them awful to her less resolute successors.

**Change  
of form at  
the coro-  
nation of  
Edw. VI.**

There was something worth notice in the consultation which was held in 1547 by the counsellors of the late king, concerning the form of the young Edward's coronation. It had been usual, they agreed, to shew the new king to the people at the four corners of the stage, and to demand the consent of those there assembled to his coronation.\* The ceremony was judged too tedious for the tender years of Edward to support, and, in consequence, some parts were left out, and the terms used at the presentation of the king to his people,[2] left to the discretion of the primate.

**Weakness  
of go-  
vernment.**

The despotism of Henry VIII. which, though odious, had vigor and enterprise, was succeeded by a kind of nerveless aristocracy. A few potent noblemen, throughout the reign of Edward, struggled

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#### NOTES.

[2] To make alterations in a ceremony so awful was certainly a bold measure. It appears that the Archbishop of Canterbury was ordered by the council 'to demand the consent of the people, and yet in such terms as should shew that he (Edward) was no elective prince.' It seems strange that no form for this address should have been preserved from former coronations for the primate's direction.

\* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 12. Collections of Ditto, N. 4.

struggled for power and profit, and left the people to be plundered and ruined by bribed senators and iniquitous judges. Edward undoubtedly had good dispositions; but, except the spirited Latimer, who attempted by his plain but satirical discourses to open his eyes, he seemed hardly to have a single person about him who was not a party in supporting the wretched system of corruption then prevailing. The mildness of Cranmer rendered his advice ineffectual; and Somerset, though not a bad man, was notoriously greedy, and was governed by his wife, the vainest of women.

Great attention was paid by those who governed to maintain the supremacy of the crown in every point. Every person in office was made to resign his commission, and provide himself with a new one in the name of the young king. Even the bishops were not exempted from this ordinance; nor were these new powers granted without a special note that they were held only during the king's pleasure;\* nor without a positive avowal, that all manner of authority, whether civil or military, is derived from the crown.†

Little can be said for the state of the English during the reign of Edward VI. as to their security in person or property. Somerset, the protector, setting aside his unbounded depredations

B 2

on

\* Hist. of Ref. vol. ii. p. 5, 6.

† Strype's Cranmer, p. 141.

**Cent. XVI.** on the church, for which, perhaps, his hatred to popery furnished to his ready conscience some plausible extenuation, was an honest pious man. He saw the depraved state of the administration of civil justice; but, having neither resolution nor capacity to reform the courts, he attempted a measure which, though perfectly well intended, was illegal, and hastened his downfall. He erected in his own palace\* a ‘Court of Requests,’ to which the injured suitors, or the distressed poor, unable to pay counsel, might apply for redress.

The corruption of the judges, although it was connived at by the great, or passed by as incurable, could not escape the piercing eye of the good Hugh Latimer, who, having been appointed preacher to the king, could make his counsel be heard where, only, redress could be had.

Dr. Latimer's spirited rebukes.

There is no point which this honest preacher pressed more closely on the young monarch, and on Somerset, than the necessity of reforming the conduct of his profligate magistracy: I must desire,’ says he, ‘my Lord Protector’s grace to hear me in this matter, and likewise, that your grace would hear poor men’s suits yourself; put them to no other to be heard; let them not be delayed. The saying is now that “Money is heard every where;” if a man be rich there shall soon be an end of his matters. Others are fain to

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\* Strype, vol. ii. p. 182.

to go home with tears for any help they can have <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> from any judge's hand. Hear men's suits yourself, I require you in God's behalf! and put them not in the hearing of those velvet coats and up-skips; now a man can scarce know them from the ancient knights of the county.' He proceeds: 'And you, proud judges, hearken what God says in his holy book: "Hear the poor," he says, "as well as the rich!" Mark that sentence, thou proud judge! The devil will bring this sentence at the day of doom. Hell will be full of such proud judges.'\*

'Now-a-days,' says he in another place, 'the judges are afraid to hear a poor man against the rich; they will either pronounce against him, or drive the suit so that he shall not be able to go through with it. But the greatest man in the realm cannot hurt the judge so much as a poor widow, such a shrewd turn she can do him.' He then relates the tale of a judge who was skinned for taking bribes, and his skin nailed to a chair for future judges to sit in; and adds, with bitterness, 'surely it was a goodly sign, the sign of a judge's skin. I pray God we may once have the sign of the skin in England!'

Again he advances with spirit: 'The magistrates shew favor to some, and will not suffer them to be rooted out or put to shame: "Oh; he is such a one's


Justice ill  
admini-  
nistered.

Dread of  
the great.

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\* Gilpin's Latimer, p. 105.



Cent.XVI. a one's servant, we may not meddle with him.  Oh! he is a gentleman, we may not put him to shame."

Again, 'If there be a judgment between a poor man and a great man, what! must there be a corruption of justice? "Oh! he is a great man, I dare not displease him." Fie upon thee! Art thou a judge, and wilt be afraid to give right judgment? Fear him not be he ever so great a man, but uprightly do true justice.'

In one point, at least, the rough satire of Latimer was successfully employed. He inveighed bitterly against those who bought or sold offices under the king. 'Oh that your grace,' said the nervous preacher, 'would seek through your realm for men meet for offices, yea, and give them liberally for their pains, rather than that they should give money for them; you should seek out wise men, and men of activity, that have stomach to do their business, not milk-sops, nor white-livered knights, but fearers of God; for he that feareth God will be no briber.'\* It was probably in consequence of this that a very strict ordinance was made in parliament against the selling of any office which might be connected with the administration or execution of justice.† Except this act, no notice appears to have been taken of the spirited orator's

Sale of  
offices  
forbid-  
den.

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\* Gilpin's Latimer, p. 114.

† Stat. 2 and 3 Edw. VI. cap. 26.

orator's reproofs; but it speaks in favor of one of the worst-principled courts which history can produce, that so bold and sarcastic a monitor was not driven from his pulpit, and pursued by ministerial vengeance. Cent. XVI.

When the faction of Warwick overpowered that of the Protector, matters went on still worse; and the execution of martial law on the most trivial occasions, and on the slightest evidence, rendered the possession of life extremely precarious. Under the same administration, an act of parliament was promulgated, teeming with perilous and contradictory folly. It enacted, that whoever should style the king, or any of his heirs, (named in stat. 35 Henry VIII.) heretic, schismatic, &c. should, for the first offence, forfeit goods and chattels; for the second, incur a premunire; and for the third, the penalty of treason. At this period, it is to be noted, the king and his next heir were of opposite religions. The same house of commons, though so careless in this great point, had refused to renew the cruel statutes of Henry VIII. concerning treason, which Edward in his first year had repealed. Inconsistent statute.

The first act of Mary's reign, which abolished all treasons except those in the famous act of Edward III. and all felonies except those that were so before Henry VIII. would have been popular; had not the clauses of a riot act, passed under Edward Popular statute of Mary.

ward

Cent. XVI. ward VI. which re-instated many penalties, been  
 revived before the end of the sessions. [3]

Honor of magistrates protected. It appears that, at this period the office of a magistrate was in danger of becoming an appendage to the train of opulent and potent noblemen. It was to prevent this, that in the reign of Philip and Mary a bill was passed, that 'no man's servants, wearing their cloth, shall be justices of the peace, but \* the king's and queen's.'†

Rules for conveying landed property. The conveying of landed property from one to another, seems to have been transacted nearly in the same manner as in the 17th and 18th centuries. The following verses, printed in 1586, as '*Olde English rules for purchasing lande,*' will give no bad specimen of the science, whatever they may of the poetry, of its composer.

'Whoso'll be wise in purchasing,  
 Let him consider the points following :

See

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#### NOTES.

[3] A curious anecdote is related of an act passed at this period, declaring Mary, though a *queen*, to have all the privileges usually held by the *kings* of England. Gardiner, who, setting aside his bigotry, was no bad patriot, contrived that law, that it might confine her within the same bounds as had been prescribed to her predecessors. This he thought necessary, as he found that the Imperial ambassador had given her the copy of a plan to render her despotic. This scheme she spiritedly threw into the fire with disgust, after shewing it to Bishop Gardiner. But that wily old statesman probably foresaw that she might not always be of the same mind, and brought about the act now spoken of.

\* Except.

† Stat. 2 and 3. P. and M.



Cent. XVI.

See that the land be cleare  
 In title o' th' sellere ;  
 And that it stand in dangèr  
 Of no woman's dowriè,  
 If the tenure be bond or free,  
 Release of every feoffee.  
 See that the sellere be of age,  
 And that it lye not in mortgage ;  
 Whether a taile be thereof found,  
 And whether it stand in statute bound.  
 Consider what service 'long'th thereto,  
 And what quit-rènt thereout must go.  
 And if it be come of a wedded woman,  
 Thinke thou then of " covert baròn."  
 And, if thou may'st in anywise,  
 Make thy charter by warrantise,  
 To thee, thine heires, assignes also.  
 Thus should a wise purchaser do.\*

The judges who presided during the reign of Elizabeth were probably more attentive to their duty than those who disgraced the indolent reign of Edward, and less sanguinary than those of Mary ; but the country magistrates seem to have deserved little approbation. A justice of the peace was described, towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, by a member in the lower house, as an ' animal who for half a dozen of chickens would readily dispense with

Justices of  
 the peace  
 venal.

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\* Booke of the Art and Mannar, &c. &c. by Leonard Mascall, 1586.

Cent. XVI.

with a dozen penal laws;\* and Elizabeth herself, in an earlier juncture, complains bitterly of negligence in the magistrates. She had good reason, if we may trust to a sensibly-written account of the state of Somersetshire at that period, preserved by Strype, and written by an eminent magistrate of that county. This avers, that ‘ forty persons were executed in a year within the shire for robberies and other felonies ; thirty-five burnt in the hand ; thirty-seven whipt ; and 183 discharged. These last were all desperate rogues ; none would employ them, nor would they do work if they had it. That not the fifth part of the felonies committed in the county were brought to trial, so negligent or so fearful were the magistrates ; that the innumerable vagabonds terrified the country people and forced them to watch their flock, herds, corn, woods, &c. all the night. That other counties fared as ill or worse ; that 300 or 400 vagabonds infested every shire, and met in bodies of sixty rogues together, that they might plunder with impunity. That if all the felons of this sort were assembled, they would give strong battle to the most potent enemy the queen has ; that the magistrates dreaded them, and that instances might be given that some have been intimidated by the confederates of the condemned felons into an interposition to prevent the execution

Wretched  
state of  
police.

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\* D'Ewes's Journals, p. 661, 664.

tion of a sentence which they themselves had pronounced.\* Cent. XVI.

Yet this accumulation of villany was by no means owing to the want of penal [4] statutes. Severe  
penal  
laws. These increased wonderfully; the stealers of horses,† the cutpurses or pickpockets, the breakers into houses, and the violators of female chastity, were declared felons without benefit of clergy; perjury and forgery‡ were punished by loss of ears; and clipping coin was made high-treason. The process of outlawry in the distant and detached districts, such as Wales and Cheshire, was rendered more easy and more effectual;§ vagabonds were made slaves,|| and gypsies felons.¶

It

#### NOTES.

[4] It is a fact very little known, that ‘the gallies’ are mentioned in a statute late in the reign of Elizabeth, as a punishment not uncommon. Lord Coke, too, in his Institutes, speaks of them in the same light. There were three in the navy, even when the larger ships were but nineteen: ‘The Speedwell, the Try-ryght, and the Black Galley,’

[BAR. ON STATUTES.]

Another singular and very terrific species of punishment we read of in ‘Harrison’s Description of Britain:’ ‘Such as having wals and banks near the sea, and doe suffer the same to decaie, after convenient admonition, whereby the water entereth and drowneth up the country: are, by a certayne custome, apprehended, condemned, and staked in the breache; where they remayne for ever as parcell of the new wal,’ &c. &c.

[HOLINGSHEAD.]

\* Strype’s Annals, vol. iv. p. 290, &c.

† Stat. 2 and 3 Ed. VI. c. 23. ‡ Stat. 5 Eliz. c. 9 and 14.

§ Stat. 1 Ed. VI. cap. 10. 5 and 6 Ed. VI. cap. 26.

|| Stat. 1 Ed. VI. cap. 3. ¶ Stat. 5 Eliz. cap. 20.

Cent. XVI.

It will probably astonish those who look for the perfection of civilization under Elizabeth, to hear that the 'trial by combat' might be legally demanded during her reign, and that in 1571, on the 18th of June, the judges of the common pleas actually sat in Tothill-fields, Westminster, to decide on a fight between 'George Thorne, a big, broad, strong fellow,' the champion for Thomas Paramore; and Henry Nailor, 'a proper slender man,' who came to fight for Simon Lowe and John Kyne.\*

The person of the Englishman, of the 16th century, was no better protected against the malice of the informer, than were his goods against the interested rapacity of a corrupt judge.

Martial  
law.

The power of exerting that summary species of judicature styled Martial Law was allowed to reside in the sovereign, and seems to have been intended against the remains of subdued rebel cities, or of revolters conquered in the field. The executions in the West, in the reign of Edward, by Kingston, and in the North by Bowes, had the resentment of recent outrages committed by a military force to excuse them, if any thing can excuse inhumanity.

Exerted  
in peace.

But it was not only in rebellious countries, or in time of war, that this odious law was exercised. During the minority of Edward VI. the  
bailiff

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\* Antiquarian Rep. vol. 1. p. 116.

bailiff of Rumford, in Essex, a worthy and respected man, was executed on a gibbet before the door of Stowe, the historian, in London; he had been accused of treasonable words (which words he utterly denied) by Sir Stephen, the zealous but fanatical curate of Cree-church; had been tried by martial law, and sentenced to be immediately hanged. His malicious accuser was obliged to leave the place, and shrowd himself in obscurity from the reproaches of the people.\*

It cannot be supposed that the daughter of Henry VIII. would be sparing in the use of an ordinance so well suited to her despotic turn. A letter† still exists in her own hand, reproaching Lord Sussex for not exerting this law after the Northern rebellion had been quelled. But she, too, thought that its advantages ought not to be limited to times of war and rebellion; and when Peter Burchet wounded the navigator Hawkins, Elizabeth would fain have exerted martial law against him, but was dissuaded by her counsellors.‡ She was not always so cautious; we have (in Strype's Collections) a proclamation of hers, ordering martial law to be used against such as import bulls, or even forbidden books or pamphlets, from abroad,§ 'any law or statute to the

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\* Preface to Stowe's London.

† MS quoted in Hume's Tudors, p. 718.

‡ Camden, p. 449.

§ Strype, vol. iii. p. 570.

Cent. XVI. the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.' And another time she was so much irritated at the slow proceedings of the star-chamber, (none of the mildest of courts) in the punishment of the vagabonds with which the metropolis abounded,[5] that she gave to Sir Thomas Wilford the commission of provost-martial, ordering him to seize such persons as the justices of the peace should point out to him as worthy to be executed by martial law, and to execute them on the gallows or gibbet, openly, near the place of the offence.\*

Liberty  
of person  
not se-  
cured.

It cannot be supposed that when a Tudor reigned, the liberty of the subject should be better secured than his property, or his life. Numberless snares were indeed laid for his freedom, and the practice of 'pressing',[6] as then managed, (comprehending

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#### NOTES.

[5] It is a striking observation, and made by one of our best historians, that the despotism of Elizabeth was not accompanied with that exactness of police, and, in consequence, security of private property from *vulgar* plunderers, which sometimes consoles the subjects of arbitrary princes for the evils of their administration. He knows not how to account for this, unless from the extreme scantiness of her resources, which did not enable her to pay or reward a sufficient force to support the civil power. [HUME.]

[6] The first record of impressing seamen is found in the 29th of Edward III. but the term used is 'to make choice and take up in the counties of Kent, &c. thirty-six mariners,' &c.

The

\* Rym. Fœd. tom. xvi. p. 279.



prehending the forcing employments on persons Cent. XVI  
 who wanted them not) was one of the easiest  
 methods

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NOTES.

The story of Read, a rich citizen, pressed, and made to serve in Scotland as a private soldier, because he would not lend Henry VIII. 100l. has been told before.

In a proclamation, dated March 29, 1557, appears, for the first time, the term 'Press' applied to sea-faring men. It recites, that 'divers ship-masters, mariners, and sea-faring men, lately *prest*ed and reteyned to serve her Majesty,' &c. &c.

Shakspeare intimates that ship-wrights were also liable to the press: 'Why such impress of sea-wrights?' And though this scene is laid in Denmark, yet it should be recollected that the Bard of Avon generally transfers the manners of England to every country which he makes his scene of action. Fishermen are expressly excepted from the press by a statute.\*

But it was not only for the defence of the country, nor for the punishment of individuals, that pressing was used. Parents were liable to have their children torn from their arms to become choristers in the royal chapels. Read the complaint of 'Thomas Tusser, Gentleman,' who, writing of his own childhood, sings,

' Then for my voyce  
 I must (no choyce)  
 Away, of force,  
 Like posting horse,  
 For sundry men  
 Had placards, then,  
     Such child to takee  
 The better breste,  
 The lesser reste  
 To serve the queen;  
 For time so spent  
 I may repente,  
     And sorrowe make.'

\* 5 Eliz. cap. 5, §. 43.

**Cent. XVI.** methods of putting obnoxious persons out of the way. ‘In case,’ says Osborne, ‘she (Elizabeth) found any likely to interrupt her occasions, she did seasonably prevent him by a chargeable employment abroad, or putting him on some service at home, which she knew was least grateful.’\*

It were indeed a curious task, to review the favorite reign of Elizabeth, and to remark the despotic power which she *might* have exercised over her subjects. The observer would find more motives of gratitude for her forbearance of evil, than for all the splendid glories of her active reign.

**Arbitrary courts.**

The court of star-chamber, whose members held their places at the will of the sovereign, might fine, imprison, and punish [7] corporally, by whipping

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#### NOTES.

In 1550, Strype tells us, there was a grant of a commission to Philip Van Wilder, gentleman of the privie chamber, in anie churches and chappells within England ‘to take to the king’s use such and so many singing children and choristers as he and his deputy thought good.’ And again, in the following year, the master of the king’s chapel has licence ‘to take up, from time to time, as many children to serve in the king’s chapel as he shall think fit.’

An ordinance for pressing minstrells (ministrallors) may be found in the days of Henry VI. [STRYPE APUD WARTON.]

[7] The jurisdiction of this court seems to have extended itself to domestic as well as criminal concerns. In Ben Jonson’s ‘New Inn,’ the Lord Beaufort, fancying that he has been drawn in to marry a girl of low birth, exclaims,

‘There

\* Osbourne, p. 392.



whipping, branding, slitting nostrils and ears. Cent. XVI.  
 The sovereign, if present, was sole judge.

The high-commission court has been described. High-com-  
 Its powerful vengeance was aimed at errors in mission  
 doctrine or worship, or, more fairly, against any court.  
 deviation from what the sovereign thought right  
 in religious matters. 'No man,' wrote the ortho-  
 dox Elizabeth to Archbishop Whitgift, 'should  
 be suffered to decline either to the right or left  
 hand from the drawn line limited by authority.\*'

The short but sharp operations of martial law  
 have been already amply described; and the great  
 Lord Bacon thought that Essex and his friends  
 had great indulgence shewn to them in not being  
 instantly put to death by that judicature.†

It does not seem needful that the sovereign  
 should be possessed of any farther means[8] of

VOL. II.

c

doing

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 NOTES.

'There is a royal court o' th' star-chamber  
 Will scatter all these mists, disperse these vapours,  
 And clear the truth.'

[8] The awe in which the unlimited sway of Elizabeth kept  
 her courtiers, is unutterable. Sir Robert Cary writes to his fa-  
 ther, the queen's cousin and favorite general, who had staid a  
 day or two too long in London, 'She grew into a grate rage, be-  
 gynyng with God's-wondes, that she wolde sett you by the  
 feete,' &c. &c. Another time he says to his father, 'Should I  
 go without her lycense, it were in her power to hang me on my  
 retourne;

\* Murden's Papers, p. 183.

† Bacon's Works, vol. iv. p. 510.

Cent. XVI. doing ill; yet had Elizabeth (and her predecessors had the same) a power to give her secretaries and privy-counsellors the exercise of unlimited despotism. Each of these might, by his sole warrant, imprison any one whom he thought a suspicious person for as long a time as he thought proper,\* and, at his own discretion, (are we reading of England or of Morocco!) might stretch him on the rack! [9]

In

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NOTES.

retourne; and, for any thing I see, it were ill trusting her.' The dread of her anger was indeed great enough to extort the most humiliating concessions, and on occasions apparently trivial. In 1594, two young officers, Sir Nicholas Clifford and Sir Anthony Shirley, who had behaved themselves with singular bravery in France, and for that cause had had the knighthood of St. Michael conferred on them by Henry IV. displeased Elizabeth so exceedingly, by appearing at court with the ensigns of the order, that she threatened them severely, and obliged them to write to France, and renounce the knighthood.

[CAMDEN.

[9] That the use of the rack was too familiar to the mind of Elizabeth, the following story told by Lord Bacon will prove: 'And another time when the queen could not be persuaded that it (a treatise) was his writing whose name was to it, but that it had some more mischievous author, and said, with great indignation, "that she would have him racked to produce his author." I replied, "Nay, madam, he is a doctor, never rack his person, but rack his style; let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be enjoined to continue the story where it breaketh off, and I will undertake, by collating the styles, to judge whether he were the author or no."

[CABALA.

\* Camden's Papers, p. 632. Haynes's Ditto, p. 196.

In running through the oppressive powers of Elizabeth's reign no mention has been made of 'the Court of Wards,' which gave to the sovereign the possession of estates during the minority of the heir, and authority to dispose of heir or heiress in marriage; nor of 'Purveyance,' by virtue of which she might victual not only her court, but her fleets\* and armies, at the cost of suffering individuals, not regularly taxed, but partially marked out [10] for oppression. 'When the

Cent. XVI.  
Courts of  
Ward and  
Purvey-  
ance.

---

#### NOTES.

Thus, had it not been for the humanity and wit of Lord Bacon, a man of letters had been tortured by the rack for a political pamphlet.

[10] The conduct of the Purveyor, in every age, added insolence to oppression. In earlier times the inhabitants fled the country when he approached, armed with the usual powers of providing for the royal train. In the reign of Edw. VI. Ascham's letters afford a proof that a refined inhumanity was sometimes added to his usual rapacity. The president of Peterhouse, Cambridge, had a favorite pad which he used for the recovery of his health; the purveyor seized this nag, nor would any other satisfy him, although many more were grazing in the field. This officer must certainly have stretched the limits of his commission, since we are told he was only the king's purveyor of *fish*.

[ROGERI ASCHAM EPIST.

A speech made by Lord Bacon, explaining all the oppressions of purveyance, which is recorded in his works, vol. iv. p. 305, 306, ought to be read by every Englishman of the 18th century, that he may relish the blessings of the constitution by which he is protected.

\* Camden, p. 388.

Cent. XVI. the queen's majesty doth remove,' says a contemporary writer, 'from one place to another, there are usually 400 carewares, which amount to the summe of 2,400 horses, appointed out of the countries adjoining, whereby her carriage is conveyed safely to the appointed place.'\*

Warrants  
to stop the  
course of  
justice.

Elizabeth was praised in parliament for not imitating the practice, common among her predecessors, of stopping the course of justice by special warrants.† Each time that she refrained from this gross abuse of her power she was certainly laudable. But there remain still, in the public records, warrants signed by her, exempting certain persons from all suits and prosecutions: 'These warrants,' she says, 'she grants from her royal prerogative, which she will not allow to be disputed.'‡

The crown of England had indeed, in the 16th century, every power[11] which the most uncontrolled despotism could wish for, except that of regular and legal taxation. 'This limitation,'

says

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#### NOTES.

[11] The particular fetters which pinioned the press are not added to the catalogue of Elizabeth's penal powers in this place. They were frequently connected with the exertions of the ecclesiastical; and the stationer's stores were oftener ransacked by the high-commission court than by the star-chamber. Both were despotic.

\* Harrison's Descr. of Britain, p. 220. † D'Ewes, p. 141.

‡ Rym. Feod. tom. xv. p. 652, 708, 777.

says an ingenious[12] historian, ‘ unsupported by Cent. XVI.  
other privileges, appears rather prejudicial to the  
people; since it engaged to the queen to erect mo-  
nopolies, and grant patents for exclusive trade;’  
schemes so very pernicious, that, had they pro-  
ceeded, they must have rendered the industry of  
England useless, and her soil barren for want of  
cultivation.

Nor did the sovereign stop here. When the  
patent and the monopoly gave not a sufficient  
supply, the loan was at hand; a loan which  
none could safely refuse, and which, even if re-  
paid after a time, which was seldom the case, was  
yet injurious to the lender; as he had no interest  
for his money.

What then, it may be fairly asked, was the duty The duty  
of parlia-  
ment in  
the 16th  
century.  
of the parliament during the dynasty of the Tu-  
dor family? The members were not to meddle  
with state affairs or the succession, nor with the  
church. This last subject they were expressly di-  
rected to avoid, in every speech which, during  
Elizabeth’s

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#### NOTES.

[12] Mr. Hume, to whose admirable observations on the  
reign of Elizabeth, the author owns with gratitude, that he  
owes more than one paragraph. That elegant writer has con-  
solidated into an essence, those powers with which the then  
existent constitution had armed the crown; apparently with the  
laudable intention that the reader should feel double pleasure,  
in the blessings and privileges which a more liberal form of go-  
vernment, in the 18th century, confers, in opposition to the  
despotism of a reign which will yet remain, in brilliancy, un-  
rivalled in the English annals.



Cent. XVI. Elizabeth's reign, opened the session. They might, however, direct the tanning of leather or the milling of cloth; they might attend to the preservation of the game, to the repair of bridges and highways, and to the punishment of vagabonds and beggars. It is true that the court could do all that was necessary by proclamations, which were allowed to have the force of acts of parliament, and which were much more strictly executed; but they were not so durable, and were sooner forgotten.\*

Monopolies innumerable.

In the year 1601, the list[13] of commodities which were granted out by patent from the queen to

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#### NOTES.

[13] These were, salt, currants, iron, powder, cards, calf skins, felts, poldavies, (canvas) ox-shin bones, train oil, lifts of cloth, pot ash, anniseeds, vinegar, sea-coal, steel, aqua vitæ, brushes, pots, bottles, salt-petre, lead, accidences, oil, calamint stone, oil of blubber, glasses, paper, starch, tin, sulphur, new drapery, dried pilchards; transportation of iron, horn, beer, leather; importation of Spanish wool and of Irish yarn. These are but a part of the commodities consigned over to monopolists, and we may judge how much the public suffered by this cruel practice by the price of salt, which was in some places raised from sixteen pence a bushel to fourteen or fifteen shillings. An incident during the same session deserves notice. Sir Andrew Noel, being sheriff of Rutland, returned *himself*, together with Sir John Harrington, as knights for said county. On this being questioned in parliament, Sir Edward Hobby said, that it might well be so, since the bailiffs of Southwark had, in 'the 21st of the queen's reign, returned themselves and were received.' However, a new election was ordered.

\* Hume's Tudors, p. 526.

to her greedy courtiers, was read over to the house of commons, and excited, even among those broken-spirited legislators, a temporary resentment. 'Is not bread among them?' said an indignant member, 'If it be not now, it will be in the catalogue before next parliament.' In this place it would be unpardonable not to repeat the arguments which were used in defence of the queen's conduct; which, as they were found in the months, by turns, of the country-gentlemen as well as of the courtiers, and admitted on all sides, must be allowed to compose the political creed of the times.

'The queen, it was affirmed, possessed an enlarging and a restraining power; by her prerogative she might set free what was limited by statute or otherwise, or she might restrain what was free.\*

Summary of the queen's power.

The royal prerogative was neither to be canvassed, nor disputed, nor examined.† It could admit of no limitation.‡ Absolute princes, as the sovereigns of England, were a species of divinities.§ By her dispensing power, the queen might annul any statute; and she could even make void a clause inserted by that very dispensing power.||

'A conversation,' writes the indignant reporter, 'more worthy of a Turkish Divan than of an English house of commons.'

On

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\* D'Ewes's Journals, p. 644, 675. + Ibid. p. 644, 649.

† Ibid. p. 646, 651.

§ Ibid. p. 649.

|| Ibid. p. 640, 646.

Cent. XVI.

Prophane  
gratitude.

On this occasion the queen most strangely relaxed from her usual severity; and instead of sending the foes of monopolizers to prison, she promised immediate redress; and the astonished house thought no phraseology too high to express the merits of such condescension, and applied to their frail, and almost expiring, sovereign, those epithets which are usually appropriated to the Creator. Her message was ‘gospel or glad tidings;’ she had, ‘like the Deity, been herself the agent,’ they praised her ‘preventing grace,’ and affirmed that, like the Divinity, she was ‘all truth,’ and like him too, ‘performed all she promised.’

Thus stood, or rather, thus servilely crept, the last parliament of Elizabeth’s despotic reign. Let us close the account with an instance of disqualifying oratory.

Qualifica-  
tions of a  
Speaker.

It was usual (the custom still lasts) for the member proposed as Speaker of the lower house, to urge his own incapacity. Yelverton was singularly eloquent on this subject in 1597. ‘Your Speaker,’ said he, ‘ought to be a man big and comely, stately and well-spoken; his voice great, his carriage majestical; his nature haughty, and his purse plentiful and heavy. But, contrarily, the stature of my body is small, myself not so well spoken, my voice low, my carriage lawyer-like and of the common fashion; my nature soft and bashful, my purse thin, light, and never yet plentiful.’



tiful.' The house lent no ear to this modest apology; and Yelverton filled the chair with sufficient dignity.\* Cent. XVI.

It may now be asked, what was the power, and what the use, of parliaments, when such despotic powers were lodged in the crown? The parliament entirely regulated the taxation of the subject; a power which was only valuable from becoming, under an irresolute monarch, the means of extorting, gradually, all those privileges which form the basis of that admirable constitution of which Great Britain boasts in the 18th century. Trivial power of parliament.

The parliament had no *real* legislative power. So long as there existed an authority which could dispense with the penalties of its acts, such acts were futile.

The forms of parliament were little altered from those of the preceding reigns; the sons of peers appear to have been first elected to sit in the lower house about 1550. In the same year the first journal of the house's proceedings appears to have been taken down.

In the year 1555 a singular circumstance occurred in consequence of a dispute between the two houses of parliament. Several members of the lower house seceded, and would not attend their duty. The queen proceeded against them. Six submitted Secession in 1555.

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\* D'Ewes's Journal, p. 549.

Cent.XVI. submitted and paid their fines; the rest traversed, and the death of Mary stopped the whole process.

Elizabeth jealous of her supremacy. The extreme delicacy of Elizabeth concerning her supremacy of the church, was a source of perpetual vexation to her commons, as it excited her to resist with great sternness every attempt which they, who almost all Puritans, incessantly formed against her much favored cap and robes. These, as has been already shewn, she guarded with care from their attacks; nor was she less attentive to her own lucrative prerogative of granting patents and monopolies.

Harsh treatment of a member. In 1571 Robert Bell, a noted Puritan, who had spoken against an exclusive patent of ruinous consequence, granted to a merchant of Bristol, drew upon the house a command from the queen 'to spend little time in motions, and to avoid long speeches.' Bell himself was sent for by the council, and so severely reprimanded, that, on his return to the house, 'his amazed countenance'\* terrified the members from freedom of speech for some space of time.

An early bribe. It was in this session that a bribe of four pounds was proved to have been given by a member of the lower house to the mayor of a borough, in order to secure his seat.†

Intrepidity of Wentworth. In the session of 1576 Peter Wentworth, the most sturdy of the Puritan members, uttered a speech

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\* D'Ewes's Journal, p. 212.

† Ibid. p. 181,


speech fraught with such principles of liberty, and such strong intimations of the extreme despotism of the court and servility of the senate, that the commons, standing aghast at his intrepidity, committed him prisoner to the serjeant at arms, and ordered him to be examined by a committee: which, chusing to meet in the star-chamber, seemed disposed to add the powers of that arbitrary court to their own. But the discerning Puritan refused to plead before any court except a committee acting exclusively as members of parliament; and Elizabeth, not liking the perverse steadiness of the man, gave up the point; and, with great apparent mildness, restored him to his liberty and place in parliament.\* It was on this occasion that Sir Walter Mildmay, in a celebrated speech to the house, extolled the benevolence of the queen, and told the commons that they must not speak all they thought, since such freedoms had frequently been punished, both in past ages and in the present. That gentleman, with a Mr. Fleetwood, and Sir Humphry Gilbert, (a man designed by nature for a hardy mariner, not a court flatterer) made on all occasions such servile adulatory speeches, so fraught with the doctrines of passive obedience, and so menacing to that part of the commons which harbored any idea of freedom in speaking, that they exposed them to the most cutting raillery from their

Cent. XVI.

Mean senators.

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\* D'Ewes's Journal, p. 244.

**Cent. XVI.**  their opponents, who dared to speak of *them*, although themselves terrified at any whisper 'that the queen or the council would be displeased.'

**Liberty of speech much abridged.** It were endless to record the repeated humiliations to which the parliaments of Elizabeth were bound to submit; one farther instance only shall be adduced. In 1593, Puckering, the lord keeper, in his answer to the speaker's three usual demands, explained liberty of speech to be no more than a liberty of aye and no.\* This was the text. A proper comment soon appeared; for Peter Wentworth, and three other members, were sent to prison for most respectfully proposing that the queen should be intreated to settle the succession of her crown. After a fortnight had passed, the house was moved to petition the queen for the release of their members; but being told by the courtiers, that Elizabeth would like to take her own time, the cautious senate humbly acquiesced.†

**Slavery expiring.** The ranks of society continue nearly as they had been during the former part of the century, except the unhappy denomination of slaves. That order, disgraceful to the ages in which it had existed, was nearly [14] annihilated; even the word

was

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#### NOTES.

[14] But not *totally*; for, in the *Fœdera*, vol. xv. p. 715, may be found a solitary instance of a regular manumission by Elizabeth in favor of her home-born villain in the manor of Taunton

\* D'Ewes, p. 460, 469.

† Ibid. p. 470.

was banished, and only to be found in an impracticable act of parliament as a bugbear to vagabonds. Cent. XVI.

In their room arose to notice, a division of the community emphatically styled 'the poor.' For these Judge Blackstone writes, that he finds no legal or compulsive provision set apart in early times. Their maintenance, then, fell chiefly on the ecclesiastics; and a fourth part of the tithes was originally set apart for that purpose. When gradually the tithes became the property of monasteries, the support of the poor became their duty. In the reign of Henry VIII. the first act\* was passed which immediately affected this division of the people. The magistrates were directed to search for the poor, and to give begging licences to all weak, old, and impotent persons; but such as were 'whole and mighty in body,' and yet were found idling away their time, were to be severely whipped and sent to their parishes. Care of the poor.

And here it should be observed, that this regulation took place some years before the dissolution of religious houses. This remark confutes at once the favorite system of those who date the commencement Poor's rates earlier than the reformation.


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#### NOTES.

Taunton Dean. An order may be also seen p. 751, whereby Lord Burleigh and Sir W. Mildmay are directed to agree with the queen's bondsmen in the Western counties for their redemption.

\* Stat. 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 12.



Cent.XVI.  mencement of the poor's rates from the destruction of monasteries.[15]

Inhuman  
law re-  
pealed.

Early in the reign of Edward VI. an act passed\* whose extreme inhumanity shortened its own duration. First, vagabonds were averred to be more in number in England than in other regions; the servants out of place, wanderers, &c. were all huddled together under the name of vagabonds, and were decreed to become slaves for two years, and to be driven to work by dint of blows, and kept to it by chains. If such oppressed being should absent himself fourteen days, he might be branded with a hot iron, and became a slave for ever. Any child found in such vagabond's company, incurred the same penalty.

The free and generous nature of the English revolted at this cruel law. It was found to be useless from its inhumanity, and a new one was framed in its stead.† By this and another subsequent act, collectors were appointed to gather  
alms

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#### NOTES.

[15] ‘Neither am I moved,’ says Fynes Moryson, a ‘contemporary, treating of the subsistence of the poor, ‘with the vulgar opinion, preferring old times to ours; because it is apparent that the cloysters of monkes, (who spoyled all that they might be beneficial to a few) and gentlemen’s houses, (who nourished a rabble of servants) lying open to all idle people for meate and drinke, were cause of greater ill than good to the commonwealth.’

[ITINERARY.

\* Stat. 1 Ed. VI. cap. 3.

† Stat. 5 and 6 Ed. VI. cap. 2.



alms for the relief of the poor; and if any one <sup>Cent.XVI.</sup> would not add what appeared to be his fair quota to the contribution, he was to be reprimanded by the bishop; who might also, if he found him obstinate, take order for the reformation of his conduct.

In the fourteenth of Elizabeth a statute appears which directs 'assessments to be made in every parish for the relief of the poor.' This was for a limited time; and (says Mr. Barrington\*) was probably suffered to expire from its great severity against vagabonds; who, if above fourteen, were to be whipped, burned in the ear with a hot iron to the compass of an inch, and for the second offence to suffer death.

The important act which passed in almost the last† year of Elizabeth, at a period when she, from the gloom which over-shadowed her once active mind, could have little merit in the composition of a law so voluminous and intricate, is extremely and judiciously particular, and appoints not only the method of raising a tax for the support of the poor, and the persons who are to collect it and to distribute it, but also those who are to oversee and criticise on that distribution; a task allotted with the most discerning propriety to the neighboring justices of the peace. It regulates also the settlement of the poor, that is to say, it appoints

to

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\* Obs. on Statutes, p. 477.

† Stat. 43 Eliz. cap. 2.

Cent. XVI. to what parishes, families, circumstanced as described by the act, have a right[16] to apply for relief. The whole act is allowed to possess great merit; nor have the attempts to explain and improve it, always succeeded.

Honor  
due to  
England  
for her  
care of  
the poor.

England is the only country which has provided for the laborer when his strength has forsaken him, and when the merits of a life spent in industry, call loudly on the more opulent members for support; nor can the short account which has been given of this most meritorious institution be better concluded than by the words of the humane and intelligent Barrington: ‘If merits in an individual are sometimes supposed to be rewarded in this world, I do not think it too presumptuous to suppose that national virtues may likewise meet with their blessings; England has, to its peculiar honor, not only made its poor free, but hath provided a certain and solid establishment to prevent their necessities and indigence when they arise from what the law terms “the act of God.” And are not these beneficent attentions to the miseries of our fellow creatures, the first of those poor pleas which

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#### NOTES.

[16] We find, by a letter of the antiquary Aubrey, that this statute was not for some time carried into general execution, particularly in Wiltshire. Nor are the poor’s laws executed to this day in some counties of North Wales, though this statute expressly extends to the principality.

[BAR. ON STAT.

which we are capable of offering in behalf of our imperfections to an all-wise and merciful Creator.\* Cent. XVI.

We have no very clear lights as to the revenues of Edward VI. Great sums were spent by war, and still more by the carelessness of his ministers. Revenue of Edward VI.

The parliament, as it usually did to every new prince, gave him tonnage and poundage for his life; besides the duties on wood and leather,† expressly for the guard of the seas. The French king had paid him 400,000 crowns for Boulogne; the companies of London had given him 20,000*l.* as a composition;‡ he had the produce of many chantries which were publicly sold; and the bishoprics were robbed of many manors for his use, or rather to supply the exigencies of his rapacious courtiers.[17] Besides this, a large sum was raised for the treasury by the worst of all methods, that of debasing the coin. Yet he died indebted more than three hundred thousand pounds to his subjects and others.[18]

His

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#### NOTES.

[17] So thoroughly had the peculations of Edward's ill chosen ministers ruined the stores left by Henry VIII. that it was now judged right to destroy the two courts 'of the Augmentation' and 'of the Surveyors;' there being now hardly business enough left to employ the court of Exchequer. [CARTE.]

[18] We may judge in some degree of the king's revenue as well as of the value of money during his reign, by the amount

\* Obs. on Statutes, p. 481. † Stat. 1 Ed. VI. cap. 13.

‡ Heylyn, apud Carte, vol. iii. p. 271.

Cent.XVI.

His sister Mary was by no means scrupulous in Of Mary. the methods of increasing her revenue. She put in practice ‘forced loans;’\* she made the merchants buy off embargoes on their goods,† and she sometimes seized all the leather and the wood of a whole county. These extortions aided her not; her debts[19] were considerable at her death; and were left, as well as those of her brother Edward, to be discharged by their more economical successor Elizabeth.

Of Elizabeth.

It is not easy to state the revenue of Elizabeth with any kind of exactitude, as she had so many ways of increasing the usual perquisites of the crown. Her ordinary income appears to have been

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NOTES.

amount of the annual presents which he gave to his friends, and to men of literary merit. Accordingly we find that, in 1549, Edward granted a pension of 166l. 13s. 4d. to Sebastian Cabot, the navigator, and 100l. per annum each to Bucer and Peter Fagius; also 379l. per annum (during pleasure) to ‘his faithful friend, Otho, Duke of Brunswic.’

The salary of the lord high admiral was 133l. 6s. 8d. Malmsey wine cost three half-pence the pint. [ANDERSON.]

[19] The salary given by Mary to her physician (Dr. Huis) was 100l. per annum, besides diet, wine, wax-lights, &c. Her apothecary had 40 marks, her librarian only 20. She likewise granted a little after, to Thomas Husse, a gentleman, for his ‘competent exhibition and support’ while he studied the law, 13l. 6s. 8d. By this rule we may judge of the price of provisions in 1553. [ANDERSON.]

\* Carte, vol. iii. p. 330.

† Ibid. p. 333.

been under 500,000*l.* per annum. The customs Cent.XVI.  
of London, one of the firmest of its branches,  
flourished so luxuriantly, [20] that she raised the  
annual rent from 14,000*l.* to 50,000*l.*\* She was  
presented, during her long reign, with only twenty  
subsidies, and thirty-nine fifteenths. The value  
of a subsidy was changeable, sometimes 120,000*l.*  
sometimes† no more than 80,000*l.* On the  
whole, Mr. Hume supposes the queen to have re-  
ceived not more than three millions from her  
people, in regular taxes, during forty-five years.  
But she had innumerable ways of raising money,  
the produce of which can no way be estimated.  
She took from the Roman Catholics above  
20,000*l.* annually, by selling them licences and  
dispensations from attending the Protestant ser-  
vice ;‡ and she received almost as much every  
new-year's day in donations. Once being disgust-  
ed with the small share which she might fairly de-  
mand of a rich Spanish prize taken by Raleigh,  
in 1592, the proprietors soothed her with a pre-  
sent of 80,000*l.* in addition to the 20,000*l.* to  
which alone she had a just claim: ' The largest  
Her va-  
rious  
sources of  
wealth.  
D 2 gift

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NOTES.

[20] ' In the 12th year of her reign,' says Cotton, in his *Posthuma*, ' the yearly profits of the kingdom', (meaning those of manors, lands, custom, escheats, &c.) ' besides the wards and the Duchy of Lancaster, was 188, 197*l.* 4*s.*'

\* Camden, p. 558.

† D'Ewes's *Journal*, p. 630.

‡ Carte, p. 102.



**Cent. XVI.** gift ever made,' says Sir Walter, 'by private persons to their sovereign.' Add to this the vast sums accruing from the pillage of bishoprics,\* (and from receiving their whole revenues, as she did that of Ely during nineteen years†) from exclusive patents, monopolies, &c. and the amount of the whole must be inconceivably extensive.

She needed, indeed, vast sums, if, as some have written,‡ she had four millions of pounds to pay, at her accession, for the debts of her predecessors; [21] this however is incredible.

Foreign  
Loans.

In one point Elizabeth set a good example to all her successors. When money was wanted it had been usual for the English princes to borrow at Antwerp; and so low was their credit, that even, with the weight of the city of London on their side, 'they never paid less than ten or twelve per cent. But she, more æconomical, gained so good a character for paying the interest of her loans, that she went no farther than her own subjects for pecuniary

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#### NOTES.

[21] Mr. Hume thinks this impossible; first, as the debts of the crown, in 1553, were only 300,000*l.* and because Elizabeth never could have paid that large sum from her revenue. Probably a cypher is added, by mistake, to the real amount of what she discharged, since it is impossible that Mary could have increased the sum in so monstrous a proportion.

\* Strype, vol. iv. p. 213.

† Ibid. p. 351.

‡ D'Ewes's Journal, p. 473.



pecuniary aid; and, by the interference of the active and enterprizing Gresham, the queen found means to borrow what she wanted, on more reasonable terms, of the company of English merchant adventurers.

Cent. XVI.

## CHAP. III. SECTION II.

HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND  
LAWS, OF SCOTLAND, FROM A. D. 1542, to A. D. 1603.

Cent. XVI.  
Aristo-  
cracy pre-  
valent in  
Scotland.

AT the commencement of this period, and for many succeeding years, aristocracy, in its most odious form, bore the sway in Scotland. It had not there, as in most parts of Europe, been undermined by the progress of commerce and its concomitant opulence. The successive kings of Scotland had exerted every means in their power to weaken the ascendant of the nobility, but in vain, as repeated minorities gave to that order time and opportunity to recruit its vigor.

Necessary  
policy of  
the king.

When the king was of age, and in possession of the resources with which his station naturally furnished him, he could, by his influence in parliament, in some degree counteract this dangerous power; and the deadly feuds which reigned among these fierce, untractable barons, afforded to a politic prince a still easier way of lessening their consequence. But repeated minorities, and, at length, a sceptre swayed by a female, not resolute and politic, like the English Elizabeth, but delicate, timid, and susceptible, would have deprived the monarchy of every prerogative, had not James VI. been endowed with a certain kind of nerveless but enduring policy, (he called it 'King-craft') which, by fair and mild means, preserved the influence of the crown against not only contending factions of the

the nobility, but against the most bold and assuming hierarchy which ever emulated the powers of the court of Rome. Cent.XVI.

It is not during the turbulent governments of Arran, or of Mary of Guise, the widow of James V. that we are to seek for any changes in Scottish constitution; nor yet in the short and ill-starred reign of Mary Stuart; nor in the precarious regencies which ensued; when the ecclesiastical and military force united, and governed the realm, under the concealed but firm direction of the wise Elizabeth; it is to the administration of James, the son of Mary, that recourse must be had for observations on a government which needed years of tranquillity before it could demand attention as a political system.

In a former book we have seen the parliaments, or conventions, and the assemblies of the church, alternately proceeding on the same plan; forwarding reformation, opposing the interest of France, and supporting the authority of the infant James against that party which espoused the unfortunate cause of his mother Mary.

On the arrival of that period when James VI. was capable of holding the reins of government, he found it necessary to pay particular attention to the formation of parliament, which had, in general, been merely an assemblage of bishops, abbots, and greater barons, with a few commissioners from counties, who met in one house, and transacted Parliament how formed

Cent. XVI.

acted the business of the nation ; nor did the lesser barons, think their influence in parliament an object worth the cost which an attendance on the house must have occasioned, at a time when a numerous train of vassals and dependants would have accompanied the senator to the capital, and have been supported at his charge during the session. On very great occasions these inferior members came forward in vast numbers (for the feuds, originally great, being now split into small divisions, the freeholders were numerous, and each had a vote) from the most remote districts, and filled the house with that honest but undesirable clamor which ill-regulated zeal always produces.

James I. of Scotland [22] had tried, long before, to persuade this well-meaning but confused mob of patriots, to be contented with electing representatives, and by them to form a lower house as in England ; but they could not be reconciled to this measure, although three successive

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#### NOTES.

[22] In every advantageous change of legislative system England appears to have been the object of imitation to its Northern sister. From many causes it happened that government was sooner brought to perfection in the South. James I. of Scots drew all his excellent ideas of improvements from the observations which he had made during his mild though unjust imprisonment at Windsor. Burgesses and knights of shires were denominations borrowed from England. [ROBERTSON.

sive monarchs approved the system, and endeavored to support it. Cent. XVI.

To enforce so salutary a regulation was the earnest wish of James VI. and in 1587, as soon as he became of age, he caused this plan of his ancestors to be introduced again to the consideration of parliament. The noblemen extremely disapproved\* of a system calculated to reduce their consequence by forming a constitutional balance to their authority; but, as the king had it in his power to carry any point by convoking the lesser barons and out-voting them, they gave way; and the burghs, as well as the counties, sent representatives to parliament from that time to the union.[23]

There was another branch of the legislature, of great importance to the regal authority, in which the policy of James suggested an alteration.

The

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#### NOTES.

[23] It was not long after this that George Buchanan published a dialogue, 'De Jure Regni apud Scotos,' which was composed expressly to prove all government to be derived from the people. He had written this for the use of his royal pupil James VI. on whom it had little effect. The parliament was offended, and passed an act 'anent slanderers of the king,' &c. declaring the book 'to conteyne sundry offensive matters worthy to be delecte.' And whoever had them was ordered to bring them to the secretaries office, under the paine of two hundredth pundes of everie person failzeing therein.'

[NICHOLSON'S HIST. LIB.

\* Spotiswood, p. 366.

Cent. XVI.

Lords of  
Articles,  
how com-  
posed.

The Lords of the Articles (like the triers of petitions once known in England) had been long used to receive supplications, and to prepare for the house of parliament such bills as they thought worthy of regard; nor could any laws even be debated on without their sanction first obtained. These were usually composed of eight spiritual and eight temporal lords; of eight representatives and eight great officers of the crown. Of this body, which in fact engrossed the essence of parliamentary power, the first and the last divisions were sure to vote for the court; and as it was improbable that the other sixteen could be all united under the standard of opposition, the king may be said to have possessed a complete command of the legislative body; and, by means of the Lords of Articles, to have been able to put a decided negative on every proposed law, even before it was brought forward or known to the people.

Restrained-  
ed in their  
authority.

But although it appears that all the members of this very important selection were generally chosen and appointed immediately by the royal [24] authority, before the meeting of parliament, yet James VI. anxious lest an appointment on which the

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## NOTES.

[24] As in 1566, when, as appears by authentic records, Mary, either by herself or with the advice of her privy council, elected the Lords of the Articles five days before the meeting of parliament.

[KEITH APUD ROBERTSON.]



the whole regal importance depended, should Cent. XVI.  
 escape from his direction, contrived an act\* which,  
 under pretence of the vast overflow of petitions  
 for new laws, created a new power; this was  
 decreed to reside in four persons only out of each  
 estate, who should meet twenty days before the  
 sitting of parliament, to receive all supplications,  
 &c. and, rejecting what they thought frivolous,  
 should recite in a book what they thought worthy  
 the attention of the Lords of the Articles. As  
 these commissioners were naturally left to be cho-  
 sen by the king, they formed a restriction on those  
 lords, should they at any period prove refractory  
 to the royal behest. And in this position affairs  
 appear to have rested, when the accession of James  
 to the English throne, invested him with power  
 to carry on the Scottish government as he pleas-  
 ed, without having recourse to the arts of policy.

No particular change in the courts of judica-  
 ture appears to have taken place during the pe-  
 riod here treated of. During the latter part of  
 the century, the civil and the ecclesiastical  
 branches of authority were frequently engaged  
 in disputes, particularly concerning the popish  
 peers; who, having the wishes of the irresolute  
 king in their favor, set the laws at defiance.

State of  
 courts of  
 justice.

The Scottish criminal code was voluminous  
 and severe, especially towards the beginning of the  
 reformation;

Scottish  
 laws se-  
 vere.

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\* Stat. 218, Parl. 8 Jac. VI.

Cent. XVI. reformation; when affectation of extreme purity of manners, joined to the rigid spirit of the stern Knox, swelled follies into vices, and hunted down a juvenile frolic with a rancor which could only have been justified by the supposition of an enormous crime.

Adultery  
and forni-  
cation.

The first essay of the reformers' legal acrimony seems to have pointed very justly at the violators of the nuptial tie; for, in 1560, they caused Sanderson, deacon of the fleshers, (president of the butchers) to be carted for adultery through the streets of Edinburgh. A riot was the consequence, and the culprit was liberated by force;\* but the magistrates were brought to a severe account for their negligence.

The less guilty fornicator was treated with equal harshness. His punishment was a month's imprisonment on bread and water, and then a severe whipping [25]†

Soon after this, adultery was made a capital crime;‡ it was divided into three distinct degrees, 1. That of having children 'procreat' between the parties. 2. That of keeping 'company and bed

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#### NOTES.

[25] By a statute passed in 1567, 'those who committ the filthie vice of fornication are, after being half starved, to be taken to the deipest and foulest pule of water of the town, there to be dowked thrise, and thereafter banished from the parish.'

[PUBLIC ACTS.

\* Maitland's Edinburgh, p. 20.

† Ibid. p. 24.

‡ Stat. 74. Parl. 9 Marie.

bed togedder, notoriously knowen;’ and, 3. The <sup>Cent.XVI.</sup> being ‘suspect of adulterie, giving sclander to the kirk, and being excommunicate’ in consequence. Yet it appears needless to have made these distinctions, since ‘all these three, and every one of them, shall incur and suffer the pain of death.’\* Some time after this, a very rational law decreed any marriage between the divorced wife and her gallant (supposing them to have eluded the capital punishment) to be null and void, and incapacitated the children of such couple from inheriting the goods from either party.†

It may be presumed that swearing was not a <sup>Swear-</sup> vice peculiar to the southern district of the island; <sup>ing.</sup> since we find, in 1591, an act against those who swear ‘abominable aithes, execrations, and blasphemations of the name of God, swearand in vain be his precious blud, bodie, passion, and wounds, devil stick, cummer, gore, roist or riefse them, and sik uther ougsum aithes,’ &c. And in 1581 the same act appears again renewed, with an increase of penalties, and a strong intimation that the fair sex had its share in the charge, ‘and women to be weyed and considdered conforme to their bluide and estaite of their parties that they are cupled with.’‡

Destroyers of parks and inclosures, for the third fault, are punished with death.§

Carrying

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\* Stat. 105. Parl. 7 Jac. VI.      † Stat. 20. Parl. 16 Jac. VI.

‡ Stat. 103. Parl. 7 Jac. VI.      § Stat. 84. Parl. 6 Jac. VI.

**Cent. XVI.** Carrying arms without licence, having been accounted felony, escaped any punishment, as death seemed too heavy a penalty. It was therefore changed to a severe fine.\*

**Begging.** Beggars were treated harshly; ‘sik as make themsels fules, and are bairdes,’[26] are to be kept in irons while they have any thing left to live upon; after that they are to have their ears cut off and be banished; and if they return into the country they are to be hanged.†

**Seditious speaking, &c.** The respect due to the regal person had always been great, nor could any thing be more closely guarded in Scotland than the honor and safety of the king. This is proved by the following act, which is supported by many others: ‘Publicly to declaime or *privately* to speake or write any purpose of reprocht or slander of the king’s persone, estaite, or government; or to deprave his lawes or actes of parliament; or misconstrue his proceedings whereby any mislike can be mooved betwixt his hienesse and his nobilitie, loving subjects,’ &c. &c. is declared a crime worthy death; and ‘the said paine of deathe sall be execute on them with all rigor.’‡

But

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#### NOTES.

[26] This extremely humiliating mention of bards refers merely to the most wretched ballad-singers. Minstrels, when spoken of in the Scottish laws or records, are always treated with a considerable degree of respect.

\* Stat. 87. Parl. 6 Jac. VI. + Stat. 74. Parl. 6 Jac. VI.

‡ Stat. 10. Parl. 10 Jac. VI.

But an act ‘against leasing-making, or raising slanders against the king,’ &c.\* far exceeded that above mentioned in severity; since it denounced the penalty of treason to all such as might hear ‘such leasings, calumnies, &c. and not apprehend the person,’ or at least give evidence of his offence to the proper magistrate.

Cent. XVI.

Except the instances above recorded, the criminal laws of Scotland differed little from those of its Southern neighbors.

The criminal law was in general ill executed, especially on the borders; for there the inhabitants, strangers to the arts of peace, and looking on industry as a species of dastardly fatigue, subsisted entirely by spoil and pillage; [27] and, being

Borderers  
untamed.

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#### NOTES.

[27] The inhabitants of the Northern and Western mountains, called Highlanders, although as expert in thievery as their lowland countrymen, were not equally trained to arms; but they were more ingenious, polite, and inclined to the composition of poetry. Duncan Laider, or the Strong, head of the M'Gregors, a ‘notable lynimer,’ executed towards the close of the 16th century, by order of Sir Colin Campbell of Inverary, seems to have expressed his remorse in very tolerable verses, allowing for the age he lived in. Like Spenser he personifies the vices. The poem is called his ‘Will,’ and still exists in the Breadalbane library at Taymouth.

‘Quhen

\* Stat. 209. Parl. 14 Jac. VI.



Cent.XVI. being powerfully connected and confederated, set the common ministers of justice at defiance.

Quieted  
in 1595.

Contemptible as these hereditary plunderers may appear, there were few of the Scottish monarchs who did not find themselves obliged to make expeditions in person against them; and the aid of their lawless bands was always sought by the barons when in arms against their king, or against one another, and almost always ensured victory. A constant warfare was indeed carried on between the martial inhabitants of the separate districts, which, by keeping their military faculties in continual exercise, fitted them for sudden enterprizes; nor were their bows unbent until 1595; when James VI. of Scots, dreading lest his succession to the English throne might be endangered by this habitual

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#### NOTES.

‘ Quhen passit was the tyme of tender age,  
And Youth with Insolence maid acquaintànce,  
And Wickitnes enforc’d evill couràge,  
Quhile Might with Crueltie maid alliànce;  
Then Falshed tuke on him the governànce,  
And me be taucht ane houshald for to gyde,  
Call’t evil comp’nie, baith to gang and ryde.  
My maister-houshald, heicht Oppressioun;  
Reif, my stewàrd, that cairit af na wrang;  
Murthure, Slauchtir, of ane professioun,  
My cùbicùlares bene thes yeares lang;  
Recept, that aft tuik mony by ane fang,  
Was porter to the yeltes to appin wyde,  
And Covatice was chamb’lane at all tyde.’

[PENNANT.]



habitual enmity, severely prohibited the Scots, <sup>Cent.XVI.</sup> by proclamation, from continuing their incursions; and, the same care being exerted on the English border, the ‘debateable land,’ as it was used to be called, was no longer manured by the blood of its inhabitants or the ashes of their mansions. It was then for the first time that the sister kingdoms received from their insular position all its due advantages. But it was some time before the predatory spirit of the borderers could be totally subdued; and the removal of one whole clan, or sept, was found a necessary step to the complete restoration of tranquillity. [27]

The revenues of the Scottish crown would <sup>Revenue.</sup> have received a large addition in 1561, when one third of the rich estates possessed by the Roman Catholic clergy was settled on the queen, on condition of her engaging for the subsistence of the unprovided Protestant preachers. But that third

was

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#### NOTES.

[27] The name was Græme or Grahme. They claimed a high descent, and appeared to have remained almost unmixed from the date of the Roman incursions into the North. The Græmes, distinct from each nation, always chose that party which promised the most profitable captures. Towards the close of the 16th century they sided with the English. James, on his English accession, prudently took measures to break their strength, by changing their abode, and discouraging that peculiarity as to name and alliance, which had contributed to support the savageness of their manners.

[BORDER HISTORY, &c.]

Cent. XVI. was reduced to so low an ebb, by the enormous peculations of the great barons and powerful leaders, who had dispossessed the bishops and abbots, that it scarcely could afford a wretched, hungry pittance to the reformed clergy; nor did Mary, who then governed the realm, venture to look closely into the account. [28]


During the minority of James no savings appear to have been made; for, almost immediately after his taking the government into his own hands, we find his treasury empty, and himself necessitous, craving, and submitting to the will of his politic neighbour Elizabeth, in consideration of sums apparently trifling. The same extreme want of money attended on this incautious prince during the whole life of the English queen; and it is probably to the precarious state of his revenues,

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#### NOTES.

[28] More than one of the Roman Catholic sovereigns of Europe thought themselves bound to aid the failing revenues of Mary; and the Pope at one time shipped 8,000 crowns of gold for the port of Leith. This ship was cast away on the coast of Northumberland, and the earl seized the money. Sir James Melvill was deputed by Mary to ask restitution; but he was denied; and had only the satisfaction of hearing the claims of the earl read to him by an advocate, in an old Norman dialect, so very uncouth that neither the earl nor Melvill could comprehend a single sentence,

nues, which, preventing him from setting his be-  
nefactress at defiance, preserved the connection  
between the kingdoms, that that union is owing,  
which has doubled the power, security, and hap-  
piness of both.

Cent. XVI.  




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# HISTORY

OF

# GREAT BRITAIN.

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## BOOK VII.

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### CHAP. IV.—PART. II.

#### SECTION I.

HISTORY OF LEARNING, OF LEARNED MEN, AND OF  
THE CHIEF SEMINARIES OF LEARNING THAT WERE  
FOUNDED IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM A. D. 1547, TO  
A. D. 1603.

THE extreme avidity of Edward's ministers, Cent. XVI.  
which tempted them to impoverish every ec- The uni-  
clesiastical foundation for their own benefit, had versities  
well nigh destroyed all the good effects which oppress-  
might be expected to accrue to England both as to ed.  
literature and education. Exhibitions and pen-  
sions were taken from the students of the universi-  
ties, [1] and at Oxford the public schools were ne-  
glected, and even applied to the lowest purposes.

How

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#### NOTES.

[1] Ascham, in a letter dated 1550, laments the ruin of  
grammar-schools throughout England, and predicts the speedy  
extinction of the universities from this growing calamity.

Of

Cent. XVI.

Education  
harshly  
adminis-  
tered.

How far the system of education then adopted in the most accomplished and noblest houses might be expected to supply the place of public discipline, we may be enabled to judge by an extract from Roger Ascham's 'Schoolmaster,' which will give a striking instance of parental harshness in the case of the amiable and unfortunate Lady Jane Gray. He visited her at her father's seat in Leicestershire, and found her studying

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NOTES.

Of these schools near twenty had been created during the reign of Henry VIII. and under the patronage of Wolsey, whose favorite school at Ipswich rivalled those of Winchester and Eton.

But one of the greatest losses sustained by the lovers of literature, and occasioned by the meanly-greedy agents of the reformation, was the ruin of the library given by the good and learned Humphry of Gloucester to the university of Oxford, in or near the year 1440. This princely collection contained 600 volumes; of which 120 alone were valued at 1000*l*. These books were called in the university register, 'Novi Tractatus,' 'New Treatises,' and are said to be 'admirandi apparâtus.' They were the most splendid and costly copies which could be procured, finely printed on vellum, and elegantly embellished with miniatures and illuminations. These books which, being highly ornamented, looked like missals, and conveyed ideas of Popish superstition, were destroyed or removed by the pious visitors in the reign of Edward VI. whose zeal was equalled only by their ignorance, or perhaps by their avarice.

[WARTON.

The gallant Essex, who favored literature, did his best to replace this loss, by sending to the university the whole library of Cardinal Ossorio, which fell into his hands at the taking of Faro in 1596.



studying the Phædon of Plato. ‘After salutation,’ he writes, ‘and dewty done, and after some other tauke, I asked her, “Why she wolde leese such pastime in the parke?”\* Smiling, she answered me, “I wisse all their sport in the parke is but a shadoe to the pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas, good folkes! they never felt what trewe pleasure meant!” “And how came you, madam,” quoth I, “by this knowledge of pleasure? And what did chieffie allure you to it? Seeinge not many women, and but very fewe men, have attained thereunto.” “I will tell you,” quoth she, “and tell you a truth which perchaunce ye will marvell at: one of the greatest benefites that God gave me is, that he sent me so sharpe and severe parentes, and so jentle a schoolmaster. For, when I am in presence eyther of father or mother; whether I speake, keepe silence, sitt, stand, or go; eate, drink, be merie or sad; be sowing, playing, dauncing, or doing anie thing else, I must do it, as it were, in suche measure, weighte, and number, even so perfetlie as God made the world, or else I am so sharplie taunted, so cruellie threatened, yea, presentlie, sometimes, with pinches, nippes, bobbes, (and other waies which I will not name for the honor I bear them) so without measure misordered, that I thinke myselfe in hell till time come that I must go to  
Mr

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\* Where the rest of the family were pursuing a stag.

Cent. XVI. Mr. Elmer, \* who teacheth me so pleasantlie, so jentlie, and with such faire allurements to learninge, that I thinke alle the times nothing whiles I am with him. And when I am called from him, I fall on weepyng, &c. &c. &c. It is, perhaps, to this affecting scene that we owe the great attention which Ascham shews, in the above-cited work, to the dictates of humanity; [2] and the pains he takes to render his plan of education desirable to the master, and pleasant to the pupil; and this is the more singular as the treatise is visibly written with the stern pen of a Puritan. [3]

The

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NOTES.

[2] The pleasant and didactic Thomas Tusser thus adds his complaint to the general mass of schoolboy lamentation, in an odd kind of metre :

‘ From Poules I went, to Eaton sent,  
To learn straightwaies the Latin phrase,  
Where fifty-three stripes given to me  
At once I had;

The fault but small, or none at all,  
It came to pass, that beat I was;  
See, Udal, see! the mercie of thee

To me poor lad.’

[3] A treatise on education, compiled by Edward Hake, and published A. D. 1574, should not pass totally unnoticed. It is ‘gathered’ into English metre, as the author expresses it, professing himself the disciple of John Hopkins; nor, from the specimen beneath, will he appear to have disgraced his master.

He

\* Afterwards Bishop of London, under Elizabeth.

The English language was much neglected in the middle of the sixteenth century, but a double share of attention was bestowed on classical knowledge; nor was any rank deemed so exalted as to exclude the necessity of a thorough acquaintance with the learned tongues. Four successive sovereigns might justly be styled proficient in literature. Henry VIII. wrote a grammar, and composed several pieces in Latin.\* Edward VI. besides a clear knowledge of his own tongue, has left several specimens of his Latinity. † Of Queen Mary,

Cent. XVI.  
Latin  
much  
studied.

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NOTES.

He speaks of the Latin tongue :

‘ Whereto, as has been sayde before,

The fables do invite,

With morall sawes, in covert tales

Whereto agreeth rite,

Fine comedies with pleasure seen ;

Which, as it were, by plaie,

Do teach unto philosophie

A perfitt, ready waie.

So as, nãthelesse we carefull be

T’ avoyde all baudie þ rhymes,

And wanton jestes of poets vayne,

Which teache them fylthè crymes ;

Good stories from the Bible chargde,

And from some civil style,

As Quintus Curtius, and such like,

To rede them other while.’

\* Walpole’s Royal Authors, vol. i. p. 8, 9. Holland’s Heroologia, p. 5.

† Royal Authors, vol. i. p. 18.

þ Licentious.

Cent. XVI. Mary, Erasmus says, ‘*Scripsit bene Latinas [4] epistolæ.*’ \*

Learning  
encouraged.

The classical erudition of Elizabeth is beyond a doubt; her extemporary answers to the poetic insolence of the ambassadors from Philip II. and the Polish monarch, have been already recorded. [5] Yet the Latin written in the reign of that princess, is inferior to that of Henry VIII.’s reign, when the novelty of classical literature excited a general emulation to imitate the Roman authors; and so very much was the taste of the sixteenth century vitiated towards the close, that Palingenius, Sedulius, and Prudentius, modern classics,

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#### NOTES.

[4] Greek was not yet familiar to an English ear. At the outset of Trinity College, Oxon, ‘My lord cardinall’s (Pole) grace,’ says the founder in a letter, ‘has had the over-seeinge of my statutes; he advyses mee to have the Greke to be more taught there than I have provyded. This purpose I well lyke; but I fear the tymes will not bear it now.’ [WARTON.]

[5] To these testimonies of her neat style of expression, we may add her answer to one who requested her opinion as to the comparative merits of Buchanan and Walter Haddon. ‘*Buchananum omnibus antepono; Haddonum nemini postpono.*’

[ROYAL AUTHORS.]

Haddon was a celebrated civilian; who, having been in exile for his religion, re-appeared at the accession of Elizabeth, and was by her made ‘master of requests.’ His writings, which were partly on the civil law, and partly polemical against Ossorius, are held in great esteem. [BERKENHOUT.]

\* Erasmus, lib. xix. ep. 31.

sics, and inferior in merit as in antiquity, were recommended by the learned Grindal to be studied, in a school which he had founded. Cent. XVI.

Elizabeth was a greater proficient in learning [6] than her sister Mary; she was expert in the Greek tongue, and translated into English the orations of Isocrates. Her example had a great effect; the advantages of learning gradually became as much the property of the laity as of the clergy; and very soon after the reign of that interesting princess, men attained to that state of general improvement, and those situations with respect to literature, in which they have ever since persevered. By Mary and Elizabeth.

The great erudition of Lady Jane Gray has been already mentioned. It was a singular effort of that amiable princess's wit, almost in her last moments, which prompted her to write with a pin in her prison: Lady Jane Gray's proficiency.

‘ Non

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#### NOTES.

[6] ‘ She was accustomed,’ says Ascham, with some degree of triumph, speaking of her avocations during a long residence at Windsor castle, ‘ to read more *Greek* in a day than some prebendaries of that church did *Latin* in a week.’

There is in the Bodleian Library, among Hatton's MSS a long translation from the ‘ *Hercules Œtæus*’ of Seneca by Queen Elizabeth; which does more credit to her literature than to her powers of versification, if we may judge from Mr. Warton's specimen of its beginning:

‘ What harming hurle of Fortune's arme?’ &c.

[HIST. OF POETRY.]



Cent. XVI.

‘Non aliena putes, homini quæ obtingere possunt  
Sors aliena mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.’

And

‘Deo juvante, nil nocet livor malus ;

Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.

Post tenebras spero lucem.’

Learning  
a pass-  
port to  
every  
rank.

No ranks or employments in the state were held, in the age of Elizabeth, inaccessible to the learned. Sir Thomas Smith was raised from a professorship at Cambridge to be, first, ambassador to France, and afterwards, secretary of state. The dispatches of those times, and, among others, those of Burleigh, are frequently interrupted by quotations from the Greek and Latin classics. Even the ladies of the court valued themselves on their science ; many of these understood the antient as well as the modern languages, and valued themselves more on their erudition than on their birth or rank.\* A farther account of those of each sex whose abilities adorned this period of British history, will appear a few pages onwards.

Physic  
and sur-  
gery.

The arts of physic and surgery improved by slow degrees, and apparently more by strong natural sense of some among the professors than through any very regular train of study, or course of useful experiments. Lectures on surgery were, however, established at the lately-founded

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\* Hume's Tudors, vol. ii. p. 738.



founded College of Physicians, by the munificence of Lord Lumley and Dr. Richard Caldwell. Cent. XVI.

Among the treatises written on medical subjects during the sixteenth century, one of the most interesting and amusing was the ‘Dietarie of Health,’ written by the most eccentric of physicians, Andrew Borde; it abounds with good and rational advice, not only as to diet, but as to building a house, regulating a family, choosing a good air to dwell in, &c. &c. It is a book which, with a little modernising, might be perused with pleasure and advantage in an improved age. ‘I have gone round Chrystendome and overthwart Chrystendome,’ &c. &c. says this odd scribe, ‘and yet there is not so much pleasure for harte and hinde, bucke and doe, &c. &c. as in Englande. And although the flesh be dysprayed in physycke, yet I praye God to sende me parte of the fleshe to ete; physycke notwithstandinge.’ Andrew Borde’s ‘Dietarie.’

There was also a Christofer Langton who, about the same time, wrote an ‘Introduction into Physycke,’ [7] containing some idea of anatomy, and Christofer Langton’s ‘Introduction.’

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#### NOTES.

[7] Writers of medical books had little notion in the 16th century of the respect due to the art of which they treated; one that was published in 1599 was called, ‘The Key to Unknown knowledge,’ or a shop with ‘five windowes,’ its motto was,

‘Which

Cent. XVI. and a good many unexceptionable maxims as to diet, sleep, &c. Until at length the author bewilders himself in a superstitious treatise on dreams, &c.

This writer had little esteem for the physicians of his time; for he personifies Physic addressing them in very harsh terms, and complaining, ‘For whereas before I was authour of helthe to every man sekyng for me; now I am not onely a commune murtherer and a commune thefe, but also a mayntayner of parricydes, moche more vyle than the stynkyng whore of Baby-lone. For you that be my mynysters and physycyons, to you I speke.’\*

One disease, and that a very dreadful one, the sweating sickness, (a pest peculiar to the English nation, and inveterately pursuing the natives whithersoever they might fly) seems to have been systematically attacked by the learned Dr. Caius with ample success;† insomuch that, to use

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#### NOTES.

‘Which if you do open—to cheapen and copen,  
You will not be willing—for many a shilling,  
To part with the profit—which you shall have of it.’

The contents are, ‘five necessarie treatises, namely, 1. The judgement of vrines. 2. Judicial rules of physicke. 3. Questions of oyles. 4. Opinions of curing harquebush shot. 5. A discourse of human nature. Translated from Hippocrates by M. John de Bourges, physician.’

[AMES’S HIST. OF PRINTING.

\* Preface to Langton’s Book.

† Aikin’s Biog. Mem. p. 125.

use Lord Bacon's words, 'it might be looked <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> upon rather as a surprise to nature, than obstinate to remedies.'

The partiality in favor of Jewish [8] physicians <sup>Jewish physicians es-</sup> was unaccountable, and probably ill-founded; yet <sup>teemed.</sup> Elizabeth chose to trust her health in the hands of the Hebrew, Rodrigo Lopez, rather than have recourse to many English students in medicine, of considerable abilities, who attended her court. She had nearly suffered for her ill-placed confidence; as Lopez was fairly convicted of an attempt to poison his partial protectress.

A few sketches of the lives and studies of those who practised physic and surgery, in the sixteenth century, will throw a farther light on the progress of the art of healing.

In 1549 died an ingenious but eccentric physician and poet, Andrew Borde, or, as he loved to Latinize his name, 'Andreas Perforatus.' Bred at Oxford, he became early in life a Carthusian, but soon abandoned his order to ramble through Europe

Dr. Andrew Borde.

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#### NOTES.

[8] The same fantastic preference had made Francis I. when indisposed with a tedious complaint, apply to Charles V. for an Israelite, who was the Imperial physician. Accordingly the person whom he sought for visited Paris; but the king, finding that he had been converted to Christianity, lost all confidence in his advice, and applied to his good ally, Soliman II. who sending him a true hardened Jew, the monarch took his counsel, drank asses milk, and recovered.

[ANN. FRANCOISES.

Cent. XVI. Europe and Africa, after having attained some degree of proficiency in the science of medicine. He then returned to the Carthusians, and practised the austerities of that order, residing chiefly at Winchester, where he appears to have acted as physician to Henry VIII. He had parts and learning, but was probably prevented, by the fantastic turn of his genius, from using either to advantage, for he died in the Fleet prison, with some suspicion of having taken poison. He seems to have valued himself on a pedantic and quaint style. His 'Breviarie of Health,' addressed to the college of physicians, begins thus: 'Egregious doctours, and maysters of the eximious and archane science of physicke! Of your urbanitte exasperate not yourselves,' &c. The tales of the 'Wise Men of Goatham' are his, and have survived his more serious performances, few of which are now to be found. He will be met again under the head of Poetry.

The bitter biography of Bishop Bale sets the character of Dr. Borde in an odious light; but no man's censures ought to be received with so much caution as those of that narrow-minded, though ingenious, prelate.

Sir Thos.  
Elyot.

Towards the beginning of Edward VI.'s reign flourished Sir Thomas Elyot, a knight eminently learned, and a patron to men of literature. He wrote, among other treatises, one called the 'Castell of Health.' In this work he lays down  
a severe

a severe regimen, nor does he confine his rules <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> merely to *eating* and *drinking*. [9] Colds, he writes of, as having lately been introduced to England. Their becoming common the good knight imputes to ‘banquettings after supper, and drinking much (specially wine) a little after sleep.’\* He disapproves too of covering the head too much, a practice in his days so prevalent, that he tells us, ‘Now-a-days, if a boy of seven years of age, or a young man of twenty years, have not two caps on his head, he and his friends will think that he may not continue in health; and yet, if the inner cap be not of velvet or sattin, a serving-man feareth to lose his credence.’

Sir Thomas was the author of a Latin and English Dictionary: ‘A stock on which Bishop Cooper grafted his work, and, if not the *first*, the *best*, of that kind in that age,’ says Fuller.† That quaint biographer proceeds to mention a work in Latin, composed by this voluminous author, styled, ‘The Defence of Good Women.’ ‘These,’  
proceeds

His treatises, medical and miscellaneous.

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NOTES.

[9] Nothing can be more ludicrous than the directions of this busy knight, when he treats of a delicate subject, concerning which mankind are little accustomed to seek regulation. Prior’s Paulo Purganti seems to claim descent from this original.

[MEDICAL BIOGRAPHY.]

\* Dr. Aikin’s Medical Biog. p. 62, 63.

† Cambridgeshire, p. 168.



Cent. XVI. proceeds the sarcastic scribe, 'some will say are hardly found, and easily defended.'

In one of his medical works the observant knight remarks, that 'the pallid faces and rivelled skins of even the young, in the cider-drinking counties, prove the unwholesomeness of their favorite beverage.'

Early  
anato-  
mist.

Thomas Vicary, who lived nearly at the same time, and was serjeant-surgeon to Henry VIII. and his three successors, is recorded by Dr. Aikin as the first author of any anatomical work in the English tongue. There seems to have been nothing else in his life or actions that merited record. A rude engraving of a skeleton prefaces his book.\*

Dr. Caius. In 1573 died Dr. John Kaye (known by the name of Caius) an eminent physician, and a sage and voluminous author. He was born at Norwich in 1510, and bred at Gonville-hall, Cambridge, which, by his munificence, was promoted to the rank of a college in 1557-8. He studied deeply, travelled much, and wrote (by his own account) thirty-two books, besides collating, correcting, and publishing at least as many more. One of his works is on the sweating sickness, a disease which seems to have been wholly unaccountable, on rational principles, to modern as well as more antient writers. In another he attempts to prove, that Cambridge was founded by Cantaber 394 years

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\* Dr. Aikin's Medical Biog. p. 65.



years before the Christian æra. He had been, <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> indeed, provoked to this by an Oxonian namesake, who had asserted, in a treatise, that his own college (All Souls) had owed its rise to some Grecian philosophers, comrades of Brutus, and that Alfred had only restored it. Dr. Kaye, by his manœuvre, not only routed the Oxford writer, but gained a superiority of 1267 years for Cambridge. He was physician successively to Edward VI. Mary, and Elizabeth. Towards the close of his life he was teased about religious matters, and (from some Popish vestments, &c. which were found in his chambers, and publickly burnt) it is probable he was a concealed, although a very moderate, Roman Catholic. Among other subjects, he wrote a curious treatise on the dogs <sup>Writes on</sup> of Britain. In his writings he is apt to digress <sup>British</sup> insufferably; in the direction for the diet proper <sup>dogs, &c.</sup> to be used by sufferers from the sweating sickness, he employs many pages in an enumeration of all the luxuries brought to the tables of the great, of the process used in malting,\* and in brewing beer and ale; he likewise adds a copious panegyric on temperance, from the antients. Over the body of this really great man there is written only 'Fui Caius.'

In 1576 died Dr. William Bulleyn, a medical <sup>Dr. Bul-</sup> writer of eminence, born early in the reign of <sup>leyn.</sup> Henry VIII. in the isle of Ely. He was bred

at

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\* Med Biogr. p. 126.

*Cent. XVI.* at Cambridge chiefly, and practised in the North until 1560, when he removed to London. He was there persecuted by a William Hilton, for the murder of his brother, the Lord Hilton, who had been his patient and his patron, and to whom he had dedicated a book, but who had died under the doctor's hands of a malignant fever. Hilton, failing in this attempt, endeavored to have Dr. Bulleyn assassinated, and actually threw him into prison for a debt, and detained him there a long space. A strange\* cloud, indeed, envelops this whole transaction.

Dr. Bulleyn was a firm Protestant. In one of his books he speaks of the waters of 'Buckstone' as having done 'great cures both to the sore and the lame.' He bitterly laments the increase of witchcraft, 'more hurtful in this realm than quartan, pox, or pestilence;' and grieves that witches should walk at large, while so many 'blessed men are burned.' This marks the æra, and shews that the good doctor would only have changed one species of persecution for another; and while he spared the Protestant, would have burned the witch. One of his 'publications, 'A Dialogue, both plesaunte and pytyfulle,' is singularly amusing, and bears some resemblance to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

The

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\* Wales, p. 12, apud Fuller's *Worthies*.

The title of his works, collected together, <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> runs thus: ‘ Bulleyn’s Bulwarke of Defence <sup>His ‘Bulwarke of Defence.’</sup> against all Sicknes, Sorenes, and Woundes, that doe daily assaulte Mankinde, which Bulwarke is kept with Hillarius the Gardiner, Health the Physician, with their Chyrurgian, to helpe the wounded Soldiers.’ In this book is a dialogue between ‘ Soreness and Surgery.’ Dr. Bulleyn was an ancestor to the late Dr. Stukely.

In 1586 was living (and we know not when <sup>John Gale</sup> he died) John Gale, a sensible, rational surgeon, who attended on the army of Henry VIII. when in France. In his ‘ Office of a Chirurgeon,’ he gives a woeful picture of military practice.\* Being at Muttrel (as he styles Montreuil) the soldiers who had very slight wounds died so fast, that the Duke of Norfolk thought it right to send Gale, with other chosen men, to inspect the army-surgeons. ‘ We found,’ says Gale, ‘ many who took up- <sup>combats</sup> on them the names of surgeons, and the wages al- <sup>empirics.</sup> so. We demanded of them, with whom they were brought up? They, with shameless faces, would answer, one cunning man or another which was dead. We then demanded, what chirurgery stuff they had to cure men with? And they would shew us a pot or a box, which they had in a budget, wherein there was such trumpery as they did use to

Cent. XVI. to grease horses heels with ; and others, that were cobblers and tinkers, they used shoemakers wax, with the rust of old pans, and made therewithal “ a noble salve,” as they did term it. In the end, this worthy rabblement was committed to the Marshalsea, and threatened by the duke’s grace to be hanged for their worthy deeds, except they would declare the truth, what they were, &c. And in the end they did confess as I declared to you before ; *i. e.* ‘ some sow-gelders, some horse-gelders, with tinkers and cobblers.’

Dr. Turner  
writes on  
botany.

Dr. William Turner was an ingenious physician,\* divine, and natural philosopher. Being a zealous Protestant, he was favored by Edward VI. exiled by the dread of Mary, and re-instated by her successor. He wrote on many subjects. Of his religious works, if we may judge by his ‘ New Book of Spiritual Physick, for the Diseases of the Nobility and Gentry of England,’ they were rather curious than valuable.

Dr. Turner published the first English herbal ; and avers, that botany was in his time at so low an ebb, that he could find no one physician in Cambridge (about the year 1527) who could name the plants he produced, in Greek, Latin, or English.

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\* Med. Biog. p. 80.

The progress of medical knowledge in Scotland, although not so exactly marked out, appears to have proceeded proportionably with that of England, although with slower steps.

Cent. XVI.  
Scotland.

A College of Physicians was created in 1581 by the king's letters patent, \* with exclusive powers to regulate the practice of physic within Edinburgh and its neighborhood, and to fine such as should take on them to act as physicians without warrant from the college.

College  
of Phy-  
sicians  
founded.

That, however, there was a considerable deficiency in the surgical branch of medicine, appears from the following circumstance, which stands on the council-books of Edinburgh, and is dated A. D. 1595. Awin, a French surgeon, was in that year prohibited by the common council from practising surgery, except 'cutting for the stone, curing ruptures, couching cataracts, curing the pestilence,' &c. †

The complaint against this useful interloper, had been made by the corporation of surgeons; this company (conjunctly with the barbers, as in most European nations) had been formed in 1506, ‡ and been greatly assisted as to privileges by Queen Mary in 1567. James VI. afterwards confirmed these advantages.

Corpora-  
tion of  
surgeons.

## CHAP.

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\* Maitland's Edinburgh, p. 376.

† Counc. Registr. vol. x. fol. 37.

‡ Ibid. vol. i. fol. 50. Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 524.



## CHAP. IV. SECT. II.

HISTORY OF THE MOST LEARNED PERSONS WHO  
FLOURISHED IN BRITAIN, FROM A. D. 1547, TO A.  
D. 1603.

Cent. XVI.  
Increase  
of learn-  
ed men.

**T**HOSE liberal and candid principles which, in consequence of the reformation, illuminated the Northern hemisphere, by encouraging the equal distribution of literary merit between the clergy and laity, wonderfully increased the catalogue of persons eminently distinguished in every branch of science. And if, before this period, the historian has been sometimes at a loss to find a number of literati, sufficient to fill the section, his only care now must be to chuse, among the many which present themselves, such whose memoirs may join entertainment to instruction.

Edward  
Hall.

Edward Hall, who died A. D. 1547, was a Londoner, bred at Eton, and at King's college, Cambridge; afterwards, becoming eminent in the profession of the law, was made one of the judges in the sheriff's court. A Chronicle of the Wars between the White and the Red Rose, which he wrote, is much esteemed. Fuller calls it elegant; and Anthony à Wood says, 'he had a great command of tongue and pen.' Hall was descended from Sir Frank van Halle, a cruel



pillager of France, under the banner of Edward III. Cent. XVI.

In 1550, Polydore Virgil, born at Urbino, returned to his native country. He had been sent by Pope Alexander VI. to collect the papal revenues of England, and, having been made Archdeacon of Wells, he had taken up his residence in the island.\* His employment becoming a sinecure at the reformation, he was permitted to return to his native soil, and was indulged with a continuance of the income accruing from his benefice. He had been twelve years engaged in writing a History of England in Latin. The purity of his language is generally allowed, but his work is charged with great partiality, and even falsehood, by Sir Henry Savil, and by Humphrey Lloyd, who call him, '*homo ignotus*,' '*invidiâ & odio tumens*,' '*infamis homunculus*,' '*os impudens*,' &c. &c. Polydore is accused of borrowing books from public libraries, and not restoring them; of pillaging conventual MSS, &c.; of sending ship-loads of curious plunder to Italy; and of destroying many records because they contradicted his English history.

Polydore  
Virgil.

Of dubious  
character.

Among his works we find treatises '*De Rerum Inventoribus*;' '*De Prodigis & Sortibus*;' '*De Veritate & Mendacio*,' &c. &c.

In

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\* Wood's Fasti. vol. i. p. 5, &c.

Cent. XVI.

John  
Leland.

In 1552 died John Leland, once canon of Christ-Church, Oxford, a learned antiquary, and no inelegant Latin poet. He was bred under William Lilye, and studied successively at Cambridge, Oxford, and Paris. To him is owing the security of numberless MSS which the libraries of religious houses contained, and which Leland (who was antiquary and librarian to Henry VIII.) had an opportunity \* of saving from destruction, by accepting the office of visiting such libraries, &c. at the dissolution.[10] The Collectanea and Itinerary of Leland (the MSS of which are in the Bodleian collection) are invaluable performances. This great man was insane some time before his decease, which happened opportunely, as Leland had been too active in monastic researches to have escaped the resentment of the bigot Mary, especially as he was a Protestant. His verses on the munificence of his royal patron are neither destitute of harmony nor sensibility. We have extant two prophetic lines by Leland,† relative to Beeston-castle in Cheshire, which do  
little

Prophetic.

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NOTES.

[10] His labours, he says, were directed ‘to bring owte a deadlye darkness into livelye lighte,’ whatever might answer the purpose of his commission. He affirms that he has ‘conservid many good autors, the which otherwise had been lyke to have perischid.’

[NEW YEAR’S GYFTE.

\* Life of Leland, Hearne, &amp;c. p. 12.

† Ibid. p. 30.

little credit to the poet's sagacity. [11] He <sup>Cent.XVI.</sup> was a personal enemy to Polydore Virgil, who had attacked the existence of Prince Arthur and his round table; but generously acknowledged the great excellence of his style, though he totally denied any credit to his history.

In 1557, concern for a recantation, which <sup>Sir John Cheke.</sup> harsh treatment had forced him to make, is supposed to have killed Sir John Cheke, a learned knight, who, at twenty-six years of age, after being bred at St. John's college, had been elected Greek professor at Cambridge, his native place. It was he who, with Sir Thomas Smith, forwarded greatly the knowledge and credit of the Greek tongue at that university, and took particular pains to regulate its pronunciation, which, as well as the language, was then very imperfectly understood in England.\* When Lady Jane Gray was crowned, he acted as her secretary during the nine days of her reign. For this he was thrown into prison, and deprived of almost the whole of

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#### NOTES.

[11] 'Tempus erit quando rursus caput exeret altum,  
Vatibus antiquis, si fas mihi credere vati.'

Imitated.

If I, no stranger to prophetic lore,  
May trust to holy prophets famed of yore,  
These awful towers shall rear their heads again,  
And, in embattled state, frown o'er the subject plain.

J. P. A.

\* Strype's Life of Cheke, p. 119, &c.

Cent. XVI. of his estate. In 1554 he gained his liberty and leave to travel, but was way-laid on his return; and, by order of the bigot, Philip of Spain, through whose Flenish dominions he passed, seized [12] near Brussels, and hurried on board a vessel, which conveyed him to a cruel imprisonment in the Tower of London.

His works are numerous, and chiefly composed in elegant Latin. Dr. Walter Haddon wrote an epitaph on his learned friend, the two last lines of which were these:

‘Gemma Britanna fuit; tam magnum nulla  
tulerunt

Tempora thesaurum, tempora nulla ferent.’  
Imitated.

‘Hail, Britain’s boast! so bright a gem as thee  
We have not seen, nor e’er again shall see.’

J. P. A.

Sir Thos.  
Pope.

Sir Thomas Pope died in 1559. He is placed among men of learning rather as an amateur than a proficient. Fuller allows him no patrimonial advantage, but calls him, ‘Faber suæ fortunæ.’\* Employed by Thomas Cromwell in overseeing the

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#### NOTES.

[12] The credulity of the age had tempted Sir John Cheke, who had a firm belief in astrology, to pay great attention to the selection of a lucky hour for his journey to Brussels. He was bitterly deceived.

[BERKENHOUT.

\* Worthies, London, p. 223.

the dissolution of religious houses, he acted with singular candor and moderation, and amassed a splendid fortune without staining his private character. Great part of his gains he bestowed on an exemplary and judicious foundation in Oxford, of which more will soon be said. He was not only steady but wonderfully fortunate, if it be true that in the four last reigns of the Tudor dynasty he never changed his faith, and yet retained the favor of his sovereigns. To him the abbey at St. Alban's owes its exemption from ruin and demolition. Mary employed him to watch over the actions of her sister Elizabeth; a delicate task, which he yet performed so as neither to excite suspicion in Mary, nor resentment in Elizabeth. [13]

The

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#### NOTES.

[13] It was a descendant (probably a son) of Sir Thomas Pope, whose infant daughter was presented to James I. when on a progress, with these pleasant verses in her little hand :

' See this little mistress here,  
Who never sat in Peter's chair,  
Nor e'er a triple crown did wear,  
And yet she is a Pope.

No benefice she ever sold,  
Or did dispense with sins for gold ;  
She hardly is a se'nnight old,  
And yet she is a Pope.

No king her feet did ever kiss,  
Nor had from her worse look than this;



Cent.XVI.  
  
 Bishop  
 Bale.

The most voluminous of writers, John Bale, Bishop of Ossory in Ireland, returned to England from exile for religion in 1560, and died soon afterwards. After being bred a Roman Catholic at Jesus College, Oxon, he became at once the most zealous of Protestants; and was in frequent danger\* of assassination in consequence of his religious fervor. Eighty-five volumes owe their being to this prelate's prolific pen. Some for the Pope and some against him; some in verse and some in prose; and many of them in Latin. Bale's 'Catalogus Scriptorum' testified his extensive reading and knowledge; but his unbounded acrimony, which led him into the most gross scurrility, exceedingly injured the character of his writings.

Although he is not introduced here as a dramatic poet, yet as his plays are almost numberless, it were hard not to give one specimen of his verse. Abraham is pouring out a grateful rhapsody to his Creator in a piece entitled, 'God's Promises.' Allowance must be made for the quaintness and ungraciousness of the language:

' Merciful

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NOTES.

Nor did she ever hope  
 To saint one with a rope,  
 And yet she is a Pope.

A female Pope, you'll say; a second Joan!

No, sure—She is Pope Innocent or none.'

[FULLER'S WORTHIES.

\* Bale's 'Vocacyon,' p. 28.



‘Merciful Maker, my crabbed voyce dyrecte,  
 That it may breake in some swete prayse to thee;  
 Suffer mee not thy dùe lawdes tò neglecte,  
 But let me show forthe thy commendacyons free.  
 Stoppe not my windpipes, give them libertè  
 To sounde thy name, which is most graciouse,  
 And in it to rejoyse with hart melodious.\*

Cent. XVI.

The varied erudition of Sir Thomas Chaloner, Sir Thos. Chaloner. who died in 1565, gives him a place among the authors of Elizabeth’s age, although he is most known as a warrior. He was much favored by the protector Somerset, and had been knighted for his distinguished valor in the field at Musselburgh, whither he had accompanied his patron. He was born in London about 1515. Having been sent by Henry VIII. in the train of the ambassador to Charles V. of Germany, he accompanied that prince on his unlucky expedition against Algiers; there he was shipwrecked, and with difficulty avoided drowning,† by keeping hold of a cable with his teeth, many of which he lost by the exertion. He was an excellent scholar, and wrote a book of good credit, ‘On the right ordering the [14] English Republic;’  
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 NOTES.

[14] ‘De Republica Anglorum instauranda,’ a poem. Chaloner wrote many other treatises, translated the ‘*Moriæ Encomium*’

\* Bale’s ‘God’s Promises,’ act 3, sc. ult.

† ‘Voyage to Algier,’ apud Hakluyt, vol. i.

*Cent. XVI.* he translated also a work from the Latin of Cognotus, for the use of his servants. Being engaged, in 1561, to manage an ill-omened negotiation with Philip of Spain, he obtained his recal by addressing the susceptible heart of Elizabeth with an elegy written in the style of Ovid. As he was equally great in arms, science, and arts, he was much lamented, and his funeral was honored by an interesting and affectionate attendance.\*

*Sir Thos. Smith.* The deeply-learned Sir Thomas Smith died, in 1578. He had been born in 1512, and bred at Cambridge, where he read Greek lectures, and taught a new method of accenting the language. The protector, Somerset, made great use of his abilities. He was in 1548, made secretary of state and knighted. In 1551 he went as ambassador to France. Mary deprived him of his places, but allowed him 100*l.* per annum; and Elizabeth restored him again to power and confidence. He had great knowledge in physic, chemistry, and

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#### NOTES.

Encomium' of Erasmus, and, like Cæsar, indited his own commentaries. [BERKENHOUT.

The son of Sir Thomas was a great naturalist; and by close observation on the alum-works at Puzzoli, found means to introduce that profitable manufacture to England, much to his country's advantage.

\* Berkenhout's Lives, p. 501.

and mathematics ; [15] he was an excellent his-<sup>Cent. XVI.</sup>torian and a good linguist. He wrote a treatise on the ' Commonwealth of England.' To him collegiate bodies are indebted for a statute which orders the third part of the rent on college leases should be reserved in corn at the low price which it then brought. It was not only the Greek language to the propriety of which Sir Thomas attended ; he formed a new alphabet for the English tongue. It had twenty-nine letters ; of these four were Greek, nineteen Roman, and six English. He formed a system of orthography easy to be comprehended, as it only prescribed the writing down words according to their pronunciation. His parts were shining, and his attainments great ; yet could he be led by the folly of his age to pursue with eagerness the fallacious joys of alchymy, and to be an active persecutor of fancied witches.\*

Nearly at the same juncture the historian loses his faithful and entertaining guide, Ralph Holingshed,

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
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NOTES.

[15] Sir Thomas was probably also acquainted with natural philosophy in general. On his tomb, in the church of Theydon Mount, Essex, are inscribed these four lines :

' What earth, or seas, or skies contain,  
What creatures in them be,  
My minde did seeke to know,  
My soul, the heavens continuallie.'

\* Berkenhout, p. 495.

Cent. XVI.  lingshed, of whom, and of his fellow-laborer, William Harrison, we know nothing, except that they were both clergymen. There are generally above forty pages wanting in their Chronicle, from page 1491 to 1536; these are called the Castrations. They relate chiefly to grants made to the Lord Cobham, who falling into a fatal disgrace, the printer thought this narrative would be unseasonable. It was unkind and unjust in those who knew the lives, education, and conversation, of two persons to whom succeeding ages owe so much instruction and amusement, not to have noted them, when so many insignificants escape oblivion.

Reginald  
Scot.

Reginald, the son of Sir Thomas Scot, of Scots-hall, Kent, died in 1599. He had been bred at Hart-hall, Oxon, and thence retiring to the country, studied so efficaciously as to convince himself of the folly of crediting magic, possessions, &c. the favorite nonsense of his age. His ‘Discovery of Witchcraft,’ written as an antidote to the absurdity of the times, had a great effect on the magistrates and clergy. But the preface to the Dæmonology of King James brought them back to their prejudices, and witch-burning went on again. [16]

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#### NOTES.

[16] Had our ancestors’ minds been accessible to the attacks of real humor, the poor, persecuted beldames of the 17th century.

In 1568 died the eccentric but ingenious Roger Ascham, who was born in Yorkshire\* in 1515, and bred at St. John's College, Cambridge.

Cent. XVI.

Roger Ascham.

He

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### NOTES.

tury might have carried their white hairs down to the grave in peace. Hear Scot's description of the mythology of a nurse :  
 ' In our childhood our mother's maids have so terrified us with an ugly devil, having hornes on his head, fire in his mouth, and a taile in his breech ; eyes like a bason, fanges like a dog, clawes like a bear, a skinne like a negro, and a voice roaring like a lion ; whereby we start and are afraid when we hear one cry, bough ! And they have so frayed us with bullbeggars, spirits, witches, urchins, elves, hags, fairies, satyrs, Pans, Fauns, Syrens ; Kit with the can'stick, tritons, centaures, giants, dwarfes, imps, calcats, conjurors, nymphes, changelings, incubus, Robin Goodfellow, the spoorne, the mare, the man in the oke, the hell-wayne, the fire-drake, the puckle, Tom Thumbbe, Hob Goblin, Tom Tumbler, Boneless, and such other bugges, that we are afraid of our own shadowes. Insomuch that some never fear the devil but of a darke night, and then a polled sheepe is a perillous beast, and many times is taken for our father's soul, especially in a church-yard,' &c. &c. The stories which our facetious author relates of ridiculous charms which, by the help of credulity, operated wonders, are extremely laughable. In one of them a poor woman is commemorated who cured all diseases by muttering a certain form of words over the party afflicted ; for which service she always received one penny and a loaf of bread. At length, terrified by menaces of flames both in this world and the next, she owned that her whole conjuration consisted in these potent lines, which she always repeated in a low voice near the head of her patient :

' Thy

\* Grant de Obitu Rog. Ascham, p. 4, &c.



Cent. XVI. He distinguished himself so much by his excellence in the Greek and Latin tongues, that Henry VIII. and Edward VI. successively allowed him a pension to enable him to travel. In 1548 he directed the studies of the great Elizabeth; not liking this employment, he returned abruptly to his college; yet he was in great favor with that lady when queen, although she never enlarged his old pension of 20*l.* per annum. Ascham wrote an entertaining Memoir on the Long-bow, and an excellent Treatise on Education. His attachment to dice and cock-fighting kept him miserably poor. This poverty is noticed by Buchanan, in an epigram which has been, perhaps unjustly, charged with displaying more wit than friendship. [17] Ascham had the

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NOTES.

‘Thy loaf in my hand,  
And thy penny in my purse,  
Thou art never the better—  
And I—am never the worse.’

Another tale or two, equally sarcastical and diverting, are unluckily too ludicrous for admission.

[SCOT'S DISCOVERY OF SUPPOSED WITCHCRAFT.]

[17] Let the reader judge for himself:

‘Aschamum extinctum patriæ, Grajæque Camænæ  
Et Latîæ, vera cum pietate, dolent;  
Principibus vixit carus, jucundus amicis  
Re modicâ, in mores dicere fama nequit.’

Para-



the singular good fortune that, although known Cent. XVI.  
 to be a Protestant, he escaped the anger of Queen  
 Mary, and even enjoyed her favor; Elizabeth,  
 too, when she heard of his death, exclaimed, that  
 she would rather have lost ten thousand pounds!  
 A strong testimony of that æconomical princess's  
 good-will. His talents were so blended with ac-  
 tivity, that he wrote for Mary, in the space of  
 three days, letters to forty-seven princes, the  
 meanest of whom was a cardinal. 'In a word,'  
 says his biographer, 'his Toxophilus was a good  
 book for young men, his Schoole-master for old  
 men, his Epistles for all men.'

Ascham was an elegant poet: but his verses  
 are not to be found in the best edition of his  
 works.

Humphrey Lloyd, Esq. of Denbigh, a cele-  
 brated antiquary, deceased in 1570. He studied Hum-  
phrey  
Lloyd.  
 physic at Brazen-nose college, Oxon, but did  
 not practise. He loved the arts, (music in par-  
 ticular) formed a map of England, and published  
 several

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### NOTES.

#### Paraphrased.

The Attic and the Latian Muse deplore

The fate of Ascham, once their joy and pride;

His lays shall charm the list'ning croud no more,

Esteem'd by kings, lov'd by his friends, he died.

Fortune denied her treasures—Juster Fame

Honor'd his worth, and spread abroad his name.

J. P. A.

Cent. XVI. several curious treatises. James I. purchased many books which Lloyd had collected, and they are now in the British Museum.

Camden styles him ‘a learned Briton;’ who, for knowledge in antiquities was reported to carry with him, after a sort, all the credit and honor.\* Perhaps the warmth of temper natural to a Cambro-Briton carried him too far, when he so severely epigrammatized an entertaining [18] Scot; the elegance of whose diction might at least extenuate the errors of his credulity.

‘Hectoris historici tot quot mendacia quæris?

Si vis numerem, lector amice, tibi;

Idem me jubeas fluctus numerare marinos,

Et liquidi stellas dinumerare poli.’

Imitated.

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#### NOTES.

[18] Among those narratives which have injured the credit of Boëthius, one of the least extraordinary is that of an enormous goose-footed otter, resident on the banks of Lough Garloel, and described by Sir Duncan Campbel. Oaks could not withstand the strokes of his tail, yet the affrighted fishermen escaped his fury by taking refuge in trees. His sea-monks at the Isle of Bass, and the wild Norwegians who could root up the tallest fir like a turnip, are still stranger than his otter. All these stories Boëthius received from credible persons; but the story of the clack-geese or barnacle being completely formed as a bird in the shell of a sea animal, he declares upon his own knowledge.

[BOETHIUS’ SCOTTISH HISTORY.]

\* Camden’s Eliza, 1568.

## Imitated.

Cent. XVI.



‘ To count Boëthius’ lies you vainly ask,  
 ’Twere a less arduous, less laborious task,  
 To number ocean’s billows as they roll,  
 Or tell the stars that gild the liquid pole.’ P.  
 Yet Erasmus, who knew him well, says  
 ‘ Boëthius knew not what it was to lie.’

The fantastical pseudo-science of alchymy has Alchymy.  
 in all ages had its numerous votaries—in none  
 more than in that of Elizabeth. The play of  
 the ‘ Alchymist,’ which closely followed her  
 reign, would have appeared totally destitute of  
 humor and of common sense to a nation which  
 had not some turn for the pursuit of this gaudy  
 meteor, and some knowledge of its terms of art.  
 A singular fanatic of this tribe we find in the per-  
 son of Thomas Charnock, born \* in the isle of Thomas  
 Thanet, A.D. 1524, of a creditable family. Eager Char-  
 in his chace of the great secret, he pursued every nock.  
 track of Rosicrusian knowledge from county to  
 county. In 1554 he received important lights  
 and intimations from an adept [19] at Salisbury.

A conflagration,

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 NOTES.

[19] And thus, with more gratitude than harmony of versi-  
 fication, does he express his acknowledgments :

‘ I could find never man but one  
 Which could teach me the secrets of our stone,  
 And that was a priest in the close of Salisbury,  
 God rest his soul in heaven full merie !’

[ENYGMATA ALCHYMÆ.]

\* Fuller’s Worthies, Kent, p. 82.

Cent. XVI. A conflagration, the next year, destroyed his works; and again, in 1557, when he was advanced within one month of projection, he was, by the malice of a neighbour, pressed to serve as a soldier, which once more made his labor vain. His works were all mysterious and alchymistical, as appears by their titles, one being styled 'The Poesie of the Rolle,' and another 'Knock the child on the Head.' He wrote too 'On the Philosopher's Dragon, which eateth up her own Tail.' Some of his MSS and many mysterious fragments of painting, by his own hand, were in being at Comadye, Somersetshire, in the time of Antony à Wood.

More a philosopher than a poet, it is thus that he bespeaks, in its titlepage, his favorite work, 'The Breviary:'

'For satisfy'ng the minds of students in this art,  
Thou'rt worthy of as many books as will lie in  
a cart.'

He appears to have practised surgery \* for his maintenance. After 1574 he is heard of no more. His education had probably been mean, as he styles himself 'the unlettered scholar.'

Blanch  
Parry.

Blanch Parry, born in 1508, and mistress of a large estate, was the patroness of eccentric philosophers. She venerated the studies of Dr. John

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\* Theatrum Chymicum, p. 176.

John Dee, and assisted in protecting him when Cent. XVI:  
 persecuted as a conjurer. She was not free from  
 an attachment to astrology and alchymy, but in-  
 dulg'd herself more freely in the pursuit of an-  
 tiquarian knowledge, and that of heraldry, in  
 both which sciences she was a great proficient.  
 She is ranked with the learned women of her  
 age, and had the honor of Queen Elizabeth's  
 particular favor. Her death, in 1589, deprived  
 the poor of a beneficent friend, but she consoled  
 them by ample legacies.\*

The pursuit of astrology, equally delusive with Astro-  
 that of the philosopher's stone, produced in the logy.  
 sixteenth century, one extraordinary character.

Dr. John Dee, born in London A. D. 1527, Dr. John  
 and bred at St. John's college, Cambridge, was Dee.  
 deeply skilled in the mathematics. Astronomy  
 and astrology were in his days frequently reci-  
 procally mistaken for each other.

The uncommon depth of the doctor's science,  
 and his close attention to the astronomical part  
 of his studies, made him be reputed a conjurer,  
 and drew upon him many, in some measure, un-  
 merited disgraces. [20] In 1583, his library,  
 consisting

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#### NOTES.

[20] The circumstance which occasioned his ill-name at  
 Cambridge was perfectly harmless; he had contrived a piece  
 of machinery to illustrate a scene in the *Eupnyn* of Aristo-  
 phanes,

\* Ballard's Ladies of Gr. Britain, Art. Parry.



Cent.XVI. consisting of 4000 books, and 700 MSS at his house at Mortlake, in Surrey, was, upon this frivolous pretext, seized on, and taken from him. This insult, and the scandal under which he lay, tempted him to leave the kingdom, and to travel to Bohemia,\* in company with Edward Kelly, a strange would-be magician. He returned in 1592, and, in 1594, finding his former bad reputation pursue him, requested of Elizabeth either a trial, or licence to quit the realm. In consequence, being indulged with a hearing, he made his innocence, and the lawfulness of his studies, appear so plainly to the queen, that he was made Warden of Manchester in 1596; where he was involved in many disputes, &c. with the fellows. He died, very old, soon after the accession of James I. Some of his works are curious, but perfectly unintelligible, particularly a large folio volume, containing particulars of the doctor's conversations with angels and spirits.

The

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#### NOTES.

phanes, by representing the Scarabæus flying up to Jove with a man, and a basket of victuals on his back.

[DEE'S CAMP. REHEARSAL.

The doctor cannot be so well cleared as to the absurdity of consulting the stars to find a propitious day for Elizabeth's coronation. Yet we must not wonder at his giving way to the folly when Leicester and Pembroke applauded him, and when the queen herself (as there is reason to believe) approved of his research.

[IBID.

\* *Theatrum Chym.* p. 480.



The fate of Edward Kelly, alias Talbot, was <sup>Cent.XVI.</sup> connected with that of Dr. Dee; he was an ec-<sup>Sir Ed-</sup>centric adventurer, born at Worcester in 1555,<sup>ward</sup> and bred at Gloucester-hall, Oxford; who, having <sup>Kelly.</sup> lost his ears in Lancashire, (not probably for the ridiculous causes intimated by Weaver\*) fled to Germany in the train of that supposed mage; in which his credulous age allotted him the fantastical post of 'skryer,' descryer, or seer of visions. [21] He was probably an ingenious impostor; for the German emperor, Rodolph II. thought him worthy the honor of knighthood, on his promising to aid him in his alchymical researches. Kelly (now Sir Edward) quitted Dr. Dee, and, by the aid of a vase of elixir, (which he professed himself to have found in the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey) appeared to effect the transmutation of 'a brazen warming-pan into pure silver. It seems, however, by the Oxford antiquary's account, that this deception

cost

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#### NOTES.

[21] The conjurations of Dr. Dee having induced his familiar spirit to visit a kind of talisman, Kelly was appointed to watch and describe his gestures. The stone used by these impostors is now in the Strawberry-hill collection; it appears to be a polished piece of canal coal. To this Butler refers when he writes,

' Kelly did all his feats upon  
The devil's looking-glass, a stone.'

[HUDIBRAS.

Kelly gave out, that his corresponding angels had recommended to him a plurality of wives.

[GRAINGER.

\* FUR. Monuments, p. 45.

Cent. XVI. cost him his liberty and his life.\* The German emperor put him in confinement at Prague; while Elizabeth, to whom a piece of the metal had been sent, anxious to recover so useful a subject, tempted him to return to England so forcibly, that, at the peril of his life, he tried to scale his prison-walls, but fell, broke his leg, and died A. D. 1595. The extravagance of Kelly is said to have known no bounds during the high-tide of his favor at the Imperial court. At the marriage of a servant he is said to have expended 4000*l.* in presents. He wrote some account of his discoveries, wrapt in unintelligible language. [22]

State of  
Scottish  
learning.

Scotland, in the sixteenth century, was too much molested by civil broils to keep an equal pace in the paths of literature with her more pacific sister. Like all other nations, she had seen before the reformation, the little learning which the

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#### NOTES.

[22] His work begins thus:

‘ All you that fair philosophers would be,  
And night and day in Geber’s kitchen broyle,  
Wasting the chips of antient Hermes’ tree,  
Weening to turn them to a pretious oyle;  
The more you work, the more you lose and spoyle.  
To you I say, “ How learn’d so’er you be,  
Go! burn your books, and come and learn of me.”

[FULLER’S WORTHIES.

\* Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 279.

the realm afforded, monopolized [23] by the clergy; whose members found it their interest to add the reputation of science, to that weight which their wealth and landed possessions conferred upon them. Yet the studies on which they valued themselves, were little else than barbarous and uninstructional polemics; and equally destitute of philosophy and true taste.

The reformation itself did little service at first to the cause of letters. The clangor of arms frightened away the Muses; and the barbarous (although perhaps useful) policy of John Knox, in demolishing the pompous trappings of superstition and bigotry, at the same stroke, either destroyed or drove into exile almost every vestige of antient learning [24] which Scotland contained.

Cent. XVI.

Not immediately aided by the reformation.

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### NOTES.

[23] Notwithstanding the establishment of universities of Scotland, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, it had been found necessary, from the great averseness which the military spirit of the times manifested as to literature, to enact a statute,\* in 1494, compelling every baron or freeholder of substance to put his eldest son and heir to school, and there to keep him until he should acquire a thorough knowledge, first of Latin, and afterwards of the law of the land, ‘that they may have knowledge to do justice,’ saith the act, ‘and that the poor people sulde have no neede to seek our sovereign lordis principal auditor for ilk (every) small injurie.’

[24] The learning of Knox’s followers by no means kept pace with their zeal. It was, soon after the reformation, found

\* Stat. 54, Parl. 5, Jac. 4.

Cent. XVI. tained. Some records and other curious MSS  
 Destruction of re- were lately existing in the Scots college\* at Paris,  
 cords, &c. [25] conveyed thither by archbishop Beaton and  
 others at the commencement of the religious  
 commotions. Most of those which were left be-  
 hind fell a sacrifice to the tasteless and madly  
 zealous followers of the unfeeling Knox. Among  
 these unfortunately 'was,' says Mr. Pennant, 'a  
 curious collection of MSS gathered oether by  
 the indefatigable monks of Jona, one of the He-  
 brides. Boëthius affirms, that Fergus, a north-  
 ern chief, having joined Alaric, at the sack of  
 Rome, in A. D. 410, brought away, as his share  
 of the plunder, a chest of books, and gave them  
 to that monastery. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini  
 (afterwards Pope Pius II.) meant to have searched  
 that library for the lost works of Livy, but was  
 prevented by the death of James I. of Scotland.  
 In 1525, a small parcel had been brought to  
 Aberdeen, and carefully examined; but what  
 MSS were decyphered seemed rather to belong  
 to Sallust than to Livy. Unhappily, the mis-  
 judging

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#### NOTES.

found necessary to restrain the giving orders to illiterate men,  
 'unless they were found qualified by the General Assembly to  
 discharge the ministerial office by reason of their singular graces  
 and gifts of God.' [BOOK OF UNIVERSAL KIRK.

[25] The Scottish college was founded at Paris, A. D. 1325,  
 by a Bishop of Murray.

\* Nicholson's Sc. Library, p. 60.

judging zeal of a passionately-reforming synod swept away these, and many other valuable manuscripts and records, to a promiscuous destruction.' Cent. XVI.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, several persons eminent in literature, and two, universally allowed to have been prodigies of science and accomplishment, flourished during the reign of James VI. and triumphed over every impediment which civil discord, domestic penury, and the contemptuous neglect of a tasteless court, could place in the way to embarrass their progress towards the temple of Fame. Yet, to encourage the growth of these shoots of literature, it was found necessary to transplant them to a less turbulent climate. However, the admirable Crichton, with Boyd, Buchanan, and Lesley, Bishop of Ross, all living at the same period, form a quartetto perhaps unequalled by the annals of any other nation than Scotland. Prodigies  
of literature.

The elegant Mary Stuart set a bright example to her subjects. Not contented with light and graceful accomplishments, with which the court of Catherine de Medicis could supply her, she studied the dead languages ; and, at a very early age,\* astonished the king and court, by pronouncing an oration, composed by herself, in classical

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\* Preface to Rapin's Comparisons.



Cent.XVI. classical Latin. Her skill in poetry was great, and her elegiac compositions truly affecting.

The admirable Crichton. James Crichton, better known as ‘The Admirable Crichton,’ was the son of Robert Crichton of Clunie, who had commanded a division of Queen Mary’s troops at the decisive fight of Langside. He was born in 1551, and bred at Perth school, and at St. Andrew’s\* college, under John Rutherford. [26] Before the age of twenty he had run through all the circle of the sciences, could speak and write to perfection in many different languages, and was an excellent proficient in every graceful accomplishment.

He now began his travels, and reaching Paris, dazzled the eyes of those who taught in that celebrated university by the splendor of his talents. ‘They found him,’ says an eye-witness, ‘though so young, expert in every science. In vocal and instrumental music none could exceed him; in painting and drawing he met with no equal; he was such a master of the sword that none could fight him; for he would throw himself on his antagonist by a jump of twenty-four feet,

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#### NOTES.

[26] Aldus calls Crichton first cousin to James VI. and says, that he was educated with him under Buchanan, Rutherford, &c.

\* Dempster’s Eccles. Hist. p. 1876. Urquhart’s Vindication, &c.



feet, and disarm him.' In short, it was agreed by Cent. XVI.  
 the most learned men that, 'should a student  
 spend a hundred years without eating, drinking,  
 or sleeping, he could never attain to the pitch of  
 Crichton's knowledge.' He disputed with un-  
 wearied success on medicine, civil and canon law,  
 and theology. In every science he appeared to  
 know more than human nature would bear; and,  
 after he had completely defeated in a religious  
 debate four chosen doctors of divinity, the univer-  
 sity smoothed every difficulty by attributing his  
 vast success to preternatural aid, and determin-  
 ing the accomplished Scot to be Antichrist.

Not the least astonishing circumstance in His in-  
 Crichton's singular life, seems to have been the consist-  
 extreme dissipation in which his time was daily ence.  
 spent. Instead of cultivating his mind by a close  
 application to study, he devoted his hours to  
 'hunting, hawking, tilting, vaulting, balls, con-  
 certs, cards, dice, and tennis.' So that when he  
 had publicly posted up a challenge, offering to  
 dispute 'de omnî scibili,' on any or every  
 science, in any of twelve different languages, he  
 was insulted by a pasquinade; which, written  
 close beneath his challenge, proclaimed, that  
 'whoever wished to discourse with this monster  
 of erudition might be sure of finding him at the  
 "Bordello."

The dispute, however, proceeded, and lasted

Cent. XVI.  
His tri-  
umphs.

from nine in the morn till six at night; when Crichton, completely victorious, received a diamond ring and a purse of gold, accompanied by a very florid eulogium from the president of the university. This honor beset him in 1571. The limits of this work will not permit the historian to accompany this prodigy to Rome and to Venice. At each of these cities he astonished the wise and terrified the vulgar, who thought that only an evil spirit could inspire such apparently preternatural exertions. Boccacini, the historian of Parnassus, records the challenges of Crichton; and Aldus Manutius, the celebrated printer of Venice, bears witness to facts which, without such a respectable testimonial, might perhaps have been doubted.

Appoint-  
ed tutor  
to the  
Duke of  
Mantua's  
son.

At Mantua, in 1581, this bright but short-lived meteor was extinguished. A prize-fighter protected by the duke had slain three antagonists, and his noble patron wished to be rid of so dangerous an inmate. Crichton offered to fight him before the Mantuan court, slew him, and, by dividing the rich prize which he gained by his success among the widows of the slain champions, raised the applauses of the people even to adoration. He became the darling of the Italian ladies, and was chosen by the duke to be tutor to his only son Vincentio Gonzaga, a youth unhappily of a ferocious, profligate disposition.

To

To maintain the fame he had gained, the inimicable Scot composed a drama in the Italian language, humorously exposing the follies and frailties of every profession in life. It had fifteen characters, and the wonderful Crichton acted every part himself; and succeeded so completely as to enchant the whole court, and almost cause the death of the spectators by laughing. [27]

Cent. XVI.

H 2

A tragic

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 NOTES.

[27] Crichton had the fortune to find a biographer as extraordinary as himself, Sir Thomas Urquhart; who, after having traced his own genealogy from Adam with the most scrupulous exactness, turned his thoughts to our hero, and recounted his adventures in a style which has no parallel. Listen to the effects of Crichton's drama: 'The logo-fascinated spirits of the beholding hearers and auricularie spectators, were so on a sudden seized upon, in the risible faculties of the soul, and all their vital motions so universally affected in this extremity of agitation, that, to avoid the inevitable charmes of his intoxicating ejaculations, and the accumulative influences of so powerful a transportation, one of my lady dutchess chief maids of honor, by the vehemence of the shocks of these incomprehensible raptures, burste forth into a laughter, to the rupture of a veine in her bodie,' &c. &c. Another poor young lady, 'not being able to support the well-beloved burthen of so excessive delight and intransing joyes of such mercurial exhilarations, through the ineffable extasie of an over-mastered apprehension, fell back in a swoon, without the appearance of any other life in her than what, by the most refined wits of theological speculators, is conceived to be exerced by the purest parts of the separated entelechies of blessed saints, in their sublimest conversations with the celestial hierarchies,' &c. &c.

[URQUHART'S VINDICATION OF SCOTLAND,

Cent. XVI.



A tragic scene too soon succeeded to this comedy. Crichton was beloved by a lady of youth, rank, and exquisite beauty, on whom Vincentio had in vain harbored designs. The happy lover was assailed at his mistress's door by a party of masqued bravos. He repulsed their united efforts with ease; when the leader losing his sword, begged for life; and, unmasquing, shewed the face of his pupil, the young duke. Awed at the sight, Crichton fell on his knees, and holding his sword by the point, presented it to the worthless youth; who, guided by the most diabolical malice and envy, stabbed him with his own weapon to the heart.

And  
death.

The admirable Crichton, although he wrote many treatises and other works, has left us nothing except two poems, both extant in the ' *Deliciæ Poetarum Scoticorum*.'

Mark  
Alex-  
ander  
Boyd.

Another prodigy of knowledge and accomplishments was Mark Alexander Boyd, born\* in Galloway, A. D. 1562, and reported to have entered the world provided completely with teeth. In versatility and excellence of genius this youth nearly equalled the 'admirable' Crichton. He studied at Glasgow, but quarrelling with his masters, he cudgelled them both, burnt his books and took to the profession of a soldier in the service of France. He returned, however, to his studies, and became so expert in the knowledge of tongues

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\* *Prodromus Hist. Natur. Scotiæ*, lib. iii. pars 2, p. 2, 3, 4.

as to dictate to three scribes, in three different languages, at the same time. He wrote elegies like those of Ovid; [28] made Psalms and Hymns like a David, and turned Cæsar's Commentaries into Greek in the style of Herodotus. His person was engaging, and he was as great at the sword as the pen. Sir R. Sibbald calls him the best Scottish poet of his age. He led the greater part of his unsettled life in France, but died at his father's seat, Pinkhill, in 1601.\*

Cent. XVI.

A more sedate and consistent, if not so bright, a fame as the two preceding, had the celebrated Latin poet, George Buchanan, born A. D. 1506, at Kilkerne, a small village in Scotland. Being one of a numerous and distressed family, he listed with the French auxiliaries in Scotland, but could not support the fatigues of a military life. In 1524 he was invited to St. Andrew's by Professor Maiz, whom he accompanied to France. He passed some years in deep study, chiefly at Paris, and in extreme penury, not daring to return to Scotland for fear of persecution, as he was an eager advocate for reformation. In 1565, his great talents becoming known, he was appointed preceptor

George Buchanan.

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NOTES.

[28] 'In M. A. Bodio, Scoto,' writes an eminent critic, 'redivivum spectamus Nasonein; ea est in ejusdem epistolis heroïdum, lux, candor, dexteritas.'

[OLAUS BÖRRICHIUS DE POETIS.

\* Grainger, vol. i. p. 267.



Cent. XVI. ceptor [29] to James VI. of Scotland. His Psalms in Latin verse, and his History of Scotland, are read as classics. His severe remarks on the errors of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, raised him many foes, and are by no means laudable, as they bear the marks of self-interest, partiality, and malice against a woman in distress.

Buchanan said of himself, that he was born ‘nec cœlo, nec solo, nec sæculo erudito;’ ‘neither in a climate, a soil, or an age of learning;’ yet, by great abilities and application, he gained the precedence of all his contemporaries in purity of style and knowledge of the Latin tongue.

Although Buchanan was a reformer, a historian and a psalmodist, [30] yet that he did not disdain to sport in the gayer walks of Parnassus, the following epigram is a proof, among numberless light pieces of poetry:

‘Illa,

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#### NOTES.

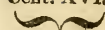
[29] It is scarce worth while to turn to Mackenzie for a ludicrous story of Buchanan and the Lady Marr. The tutor made his royal scholar respect him, and spared not manual chastisement when merited.

[LIFE OF BUCHANAN APUD MACKENZIE.

[30] The most elegant of Buchanan’s translations is supposed to be that of the 104th Psalm. Eight other Scottish bards have vied with the venerable reformer. One Dr. Eglisem pronounced himself victor in the contest.

[GRAINGER,





‘ Illa, mihi semper, presenti dura, Neæra,  
 Me, quoties absum, semper abesse dolet;  
 Non desiderio nostri, non mœret amore,  
 Sed se non nostro posse dolore frui.’

Neæra, present to my vows unkind,  
 When absent, still my absence seems to  
 mourn;

Not mov’d by love, but that my tortur’d mind  
 With anguish unenjoy’d by her, is torn. P.

The Hendasillabæ of the same ingenious Scot  
 are much more playful; some of them, although  
 apparently improper to follow the Psalms of  
 David, might have been a proper supplement to  
 the Song of his royal successor.\*

The latter days of Buchanan were employed  
 in completing his well-known Scottish History,  
 He died in 1572, [31] in more affluence than  
 men of wit and learning commonly attain, having  
 considerable posts in Scotland, and a pension from  
 Elizabeth. ‘ His happy genius,’ writes one of  
 his most judicious countrymen,† ‘ equally formed  
 to excel in prose or verse, more various, more  
 original, and more elegant than that of almost  
 any

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NOTES.

[31] After having shewn to his old tutor an unpardonable  
 neglect, James VI. condescended to send a nobleman to en-  
 quire after his health. ‘ Tell his Majesty,’ quaintly replied  
 (as they say) the irritated sage, ‘ tell him that I am going to a  
 place where king’s flesh is venison.’

\* Buchanan’s Opera, Elz. edit. p. 312, 313, 314.

† Robertson, vol. ii. p. 256, 257.

Cent. XVI. any other modern who writes in Latin, reflects, with regard to this particular, the greatest lustre on his country.'

John  
Major.

The earliest Scottish historian within the period now under observation was John Major, born in 1469 at Haddington, in East Lothian. He appears to have studied some time both at Oxford and Cambridge.\* After visiting Paris and other foreign universities, he returned to Scotland, and taught theology at St. Andrews. Disgusted at the disputes among his countrymen, he re-visited Paris, where he read lectures with great applause. Du Pin and Launoy have written high commendations of the abilities of Major in polemic divinity, and his pupils in that (then fashionable) science, are said to have become men of eminence. He once more sought his own country in 1530, and died at St Andrew's in 1547, aged 78.

Bishop  
Lesley.

John Lesley, a faithful adherent to the most unfortunate of queens, was the son of an eminent lawyer. He was born A. D. 1526, and bred a divine at the university of Aberdeen.† His warm attachment to the Roman Catholic faith occasioned his being frequently employed in negotiations between Mary Stuart and those of her peers who followed her religion. As he had considerable

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\* Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 54.

† Mackenzie, vol. ii. p. 502.

considerable abilities, and great learning, he rose <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> by quick steps to ecclesiastical dignity, and became in 1565-6 Bishop of Ross. His transactions as the secretary and confidant of Mary have been recited, as well as that ill-omened confession which, drawn from the timid prelate through fear of the rack and the axe, cost his hapless queen her life. Permitted to quit England, he retired to Brussels, where he died, after fruitlessly endeavouring to excite the princes of Europe to espouse the cause of Mary. His book, ‘*De Origine, Moribus, et Gestis Scotorum*,’ is ranked among the best histories, both in style and materials. The Latin of Bishop Lesley was pure, and he wrote, says Bishop Nicholson, ‘like one neither swayed by his own passions, nor by the groundless reports of others.’\*

David Chambers was a learned Scottish historiographer, born in Ross-shire about 1530, and bred at the university of Aberdeen. After spending some time in travelling through France and Italy he returned to his country, and was by Queen Mary preferred in the church, and employed in digesting the Laws of Scotland. He was afterwards appointed one of the Lords of Session; but the misfortunes of his royal patroness having involved him, and her other adherents in their vortex, he retired first to Spain, and then

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\* Scot. Hist. chap. 1.

Cent. XVI.

then to France, in each of which countries he was kindly received. He died at Paris 1592, much regretted, it is said, by those who knew him.\* The History of Scotland, which he wrote in French, he presented to Charles IX. King of France. In all his works his attachment to Mary Stuart, and his veneration and preference of his native country are ever the leading features.

Dr. Jas.  
Cheyne.

Dr. James Cheyne was the son of a Laird of Arnagies, in Aberdeenshire, at which place he was born about 1545. He was bred at the university of Aberdeen, and took orders in the Romish church; but the reformation under John Knox and his associates advancing with swift steps in Scotland, Cheyne retired to France, and taught philosophy in Paris. Thence he removed to Douay in Flanders, where taking the degree of doctor, he was appointed professor of philosophy in the Scots college, of which he afterwards became rector; also canon and grand penitentiary of the cathedral at Tournay, at which place he died in 1602. He was esteemed one of the first mathematicians and philosophers of his age.†

Ladies  
eminent  
in literature.

Several other men of science [32] flourished at this period both in England and Scotland, whose names

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NOTES.

[32] In England, Wotton, Broke, Ridley, Tonstal, &c. (Sir Philip Sidney will class with the poets.) In Scotland, the two Barclays, Adamson, Arbuthnot, and Blissat.

\* Mackenzie, vol. iii. p. 380.

† Ibid. p. 459.

names cannot here be brought forward, as the author is conscious that the space allotted to this department is already far too large, and there yet remains the irresistible claim of many learned females for admittance. Cent. XVI.

He will begin with Margaret,\* a lady whose maiden surname is not certain, allied to, and bred up in, the family of Sir Thomas More. She corresponded with the great Erasmus, who commends her epistles for their good sense and chaste Latin. She honored Sir Thomas More almost to idolatry. She would commit faults purely to be chid by him; such moderation and humanity did he use in his anger. The shirt in which he suffered, stained with his blood, and his hair-shirt, she preserved as relics. In 1531 she married her learned tutor, Dr. John Clement, with whom she left England on account of her religion, and settled at Mechlin, in Brabant; where she died A. D. 1570. Margaret Clement.

Another Margaret, daughter to Sir Thomas More, and afterwards the wife of William Roper, Esq. of Eltham, was the most learned woman of her time. She shared with the former Margaret the praises of Erasmus, and was so deeply read in the fathers, that she restored (as is acknowledged by two commentators, J. Costerus and Pamelion) a depraved passage in St. Cyprian, reading,

‘ Nervos

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\* Ballard's Ladies, &c. Art. Margaret.



Cent. XVI.

‘ Nervos sinceritatis,’  
for

‘ Nisi vos sinceritatis.\*

She translated Eusebius’s History from the Greek, but never printed the work, there being already a good translation by J. Christopherson.

The tender affection which this accomplished lady bore to her father survived his catastrophe; she purchased his head from those who guarded it on the tower of London-bridge,† and was interred with that melancholy relique in her arms. [33]

Daugh-  
ters of  
Sir An-  
thony  
Cooke.

The house of Sir Anthony Cooke of Essex was fruitful‡ in exemplary females. Mildred, the elder, was married, in 1546, to Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, a minister highly esteemed in the court of Queen Elizabeth. Her learning, piety, and charity, were exemplary; she died in 1589, after having lived 42 years a happy wife; and her husband’s ‘ Meditation on her Decease’ does honor both to her and himself.

The

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#### NOTES.

[33] The skull may still be seen in a vault at St. Dunstan’s church at Canterbury, where Margaret Roper was buried.

[GOSTLING’S WALK.

\* Fuller’s Worthies, London, p. 209.

† Ibid. p. 210.

‡ Ibid. Essex, p. 328.

The sense and erudition of Sir Anthony's second daughter, Anne, caused her to be appointed governess to Edward VI. At the age of twenty-two she published twenty-five sermons, translated by herself from the Italian tongue. She afterwards became the wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon.

Catharine, another child of this fortunate parent, was celebrated for her knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages; she married Sir Henry Killigrew of Cornwall. There needs no farther testimony of her skill and taste in Latin poetry than the elegant and tender epistle which she addressed to her sister Mildred, [34] to desire her interest with her husband, Cecil, Lord Burghley, that Sir Henry might be excused from a critical and perilous French embassy, and be permitted to quit the court, and visit Cornwall:

‘ Si mihi quem cupio, cures Mildreda remitti, Epistle in  
Latin  
verse.  
 Tu bona, tu melior, tu mihi sola soror.  
 Sin male cunctando retines, vel trans mare mittas,  
 Tu mala, tu pejor, tu mihi nulla soror.  
 It si Cornubiam, tibi pax sit et omnia læta;  
 Sin mare, Cecili, nuntio bella, vale !’

Beneath

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#### NOTES.

[34] The accomplishments and virtues of this lady have been celebrated by the elegant Buchanan in four successive poems. The name ‘ Mildreda ’ is indeed much better formed for a poet’s use than that of her father, to whom he addresses an epigram by the style of ‘ Antonius Cucus.’

Cent.XVI. Beneath is Dr. Fuller's translation, which, though it rivals not the elegance of the original, is by no means deficient in expression:

‘ If, Mildred, by thy care *he* be  
Sent back, whom I request ;  
A sister *good* thou art to me,  
Yea *better*, yea the *best*.

But, if with stays thou keepst him still,  
Or sendst where seas do part,  
Then unto me a sister *ill*,  
Yea *worse*, yea *none*, thou art.

If go to Cornwall he shall please,  
I peace to thee foretell ;  
But, Cecil, if he's sent to seas,  
I war denounce. Farewell.’

## CHAP. IV.—SECTION III.

HISTORY OF THE PRINCIPAL SEMINARIES OF LEARNING THAT WERE FOUNDED IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM A. D. 1547, TO A. D. 1603.

THE flux and reflux of superstition's billows Cent. XVI.  
 seem to have had little effect on the firm- Disad-  
 minded and beneficent well-wishers to literature vantages  
 in Great Britain. Wealth and leisure were found of lite-  
 to erect six colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, rature  
 besides several schools in other parts of Eng- under  
 land. Nor was Scotland, although involved in Mary.  
 almost unremitting turbulence, without her ad-  
 ditions to the general stock of literature.

It is true, that the bigot Mary, although she enriched both the universities with considerable benefactions, meant the encouragement of superstition, rather than of learning. Yet, in the very centre of her bloody deeds, and at a period when the elegant studies were beginning again to yield New col-  
 to polemics, there arose a college at Oxford, leges in  
 avowedly destined by its founder, Sir Thomas Oxford.  
 Pope, A. D. 1554, for the improvement of classical literature. In the statutes a lecturer is particularly appointed, and enjoined to 'exert his utmost diligence in tincturing his auditors with  
 a just

Cent. XVI. a just relish for the graces and purity of the Latin tongue.' And such rules are given, and such exercises peculiarly pointed out, that it seems impossible for the student to escape a thorough knowledge of Latin literature. [35]

Trinity college. This was Trinity college; a president, twelve fellows, and twelve scholars, were appointed by the founder; the whole number of members are about seventy, and the Bishop of Winchester is the visitor. [36]

St. John's college. St. John's college (placed on the site of Bernard's college, erected in 1437 by the munificent Chicheley) was founded, in 1557, by Sir Thomas White, alderman and merchant-taylor of London. It had a president, fifty fellows, three clerks, three chaplains,

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#### NOTES.

[35] Yet, in 1563, there were only two divines at Oxford who were capable of preaching before the university. And, in 1570, Horne, Bishop of Winton, enjoined to his minor canons, tasks almost beneath the abilities of an ordinary school-boy.

The very low state of public education, in the middle of Elizabeth's reign, may be collected from a provision in Archbishop Parker's foundation of three scholarships at Cambridge, dated 1567. They are to be supplied by the most considerable schools in Kent and Norfolk, and are to be 'the best and aptest schollers, well instructed in the grammar, and (if it may be) such as can make a verse.'

[36] The civil war between Charles I. and his parliament having occasioned great devastation in Oxford, a president, Dr. Ralph Bathurst, expended near 2000*l.* in rebuilding the chapel. Trinity college has met with no other benefactor.



chaplains, and six choristers. Since that year the number of its benefactors has been considerable; and we find among them Sir William Paddy, who founded and endowed the present choir; Archbishop Laud, who erected most part of the second court; Archbishop Juxon, who gave 7000*l.* to augment the fellowships; Dr. and Mrs. Holmes, who allotted 15,000*l.* to augment the officers' salaries, &c.; and Dr. Rawlinson, who gave to the college a large landed estate in reversion.

Since the foundation, an organist, five singing-men, and two sextons, have been added, and one chaplain and three clerks appear to have been discarded.

About seventy students reside at St. John's college, and the bishop of Winchester is the visitor.

Jesus college owes its foundation to Queen Elizabeth who provided for a principal, eight fellows, and eight scholars. Since her time it has received so many benefactions from Charles I. Sir Leeline Jenkins, Dr. Mansel, and others, that its numbers are augmented to nineteen fellows, eighteen scholars, and, in all, to ninety persons.

Cambridge could boast of as many new foundations as Oxford, if Gonvil and Caius college is allowed as one. It was 200 years after its original foundation that Dr. John Caius, by building a new court to that edifice, and by endowing it, in 1557, with demesnes, manors, and advowsons, to a great amount, was thought to merit the honor

**Cent. XVI.** of having his name joined to that of the original founder in the appellation of the structure, which before was only known as Gonvil-hall. The society has a master, twenty-six fellows, seventy-one scholars, and four exhibitioners. The visitors are, the provost of King's college, the master of Benedict college, and the senior doctor of physic.

**Emanuel college.**

Emanuel college had for its founder, in 1584, Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, and of the Exchequer, under Elizabeth. It rose on the site of the Dominican convent of black preaching friars. It began humbly with a master, and only three fellows and four scholars; but at the close of the 18th century, having fortunately met with numerous benefactors, it counts fifteen fellowships, fifty scholarships, ten sizer's places, and thirty-seven exhibitions.

**Sidney-Sussex college.**

Sidney-Sussex college, founded A. D. 1594, by the Dowager of Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, has had a like good fortune with its sister Emanuel college; and, having been aided by a variety of benefactions, has, from a small commencement, increased so far as to have sixty-one fellowships, besides many exhibitions, to bestow. [37]

Edward

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#### NOTES.

[37] In 1577, a very large property, nearly equal to a new foundation, was offered to Peterhouse, Cambridge, by Mary Ramsey, the widow of a Lord Mayor of London. Unluckily,

Edward VI. incorporated Bethlem and Bridewell hospitals in the metropolis, including a school for poor boys, under certain regulations, under the patronage of the city of London.

In 1590 Elizabeth formed an establishment at Westminster for forty boys in every species of classical learning. The progress of Westminster school has been steady and fortunate; its masters have been, and are still, as much distinguished for their learning, as the students for spirit and urbanity.

The extreme turbulence of the times in the North might have excused Scotland, had she made no new efforts in favor of literature during the period now under consideration. But she had no need to plead this excuse; and, greatly to her honor, three capacious establishments arose to aid the student and reward the proficient.

The university of Edinburgh was founded, in 1580, by James VI. on the supplication of the magistrates ruling that metropolis; who, with the most opulent citizens, were the benefactors

I 2

and

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#### NOTES.

luckily, the lady made the change of its name into 'Peter and Mary's College' an indispensable condition, and to this Dr. Soams, the master, refused to consent. 'Peter,' said the humorist, 'has been too long a batchelor to think of a female comrade in his old age.' 'A dear jest,' says Dr. Fuller, 'to lose so good a benefactress!' For Lady Ramsey, disgusted at the refusal, turned the stream of her benevolence into a different channel.

[FULLER'S WORTHIES.

Cent. XVI. and endowers, aided by donations of religious houses and lands. These are accordingly the sole patrons and visitors, although James seems to have wished to be sole patron, and to have it called ‘ King James’s college.’\*

The foundation supports a principal or warden, a professor of divinity, four regents of philosophy, a regent of humanity or classical learning, a professor of the Hebrew tongue, and a professor of the mathematics. The library was founded by Clement Little, a commissary of Edinburgh, about fifty years after the erection of the college.†

Marischal  
college,  
Aber-  
deen.

The Marischal college at Aberdeen was founded,‡ in 1594, by George, Earl Marischal, [38] who endowed it with a considerable landed estate. The town of Aberdeen was chiefly at the charge of the building; and Charles I. settled on it one third of the bishopric’s rents, while such see should remain vacant. There were many minor benefactors.

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#### NOTES.

[38] On one front the founder engraved this strange inscription:

‘ They have seid’—

“ Quhat say thay ?

“ Let yame say.”

Probably alluding to some scoffers at that time.

[PENNANT.]

\* Arnot’s Edinburgh, p. 387, 388.

† Spotiswood, p. 29.

‡ Spotiswood, p. 28.

It maintained at first a principal, and three professors of philosophy; since which have been added a fourth professor of philosophy, a professor of divinity, and one of mathematics, and twenty-four poor scholars. There are (at the close of the 18th century) about 150 students attending on the college, which is described by Mr. Pennant,\* in 1774, as a large old building, with many good pictures, and a curious, if not a large, library.

The university of Glasgow, although founded in 1453, was at the reformation reduced to the lowest state of desolation. It was however re-founded and restored, in 1577, by the attention of those who then regulated the minority of James VI. It had the tithes of a parish settled upon it; and, in 1617, had still more benefactions added to its store. A principal, three regents in philosophy, four bursars, a provisor, a janitor, a servant, and a cook, were the establishment appointed by its royal protector.

Cent. XVI.

University of  
Glasgow.

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\* Pennant's Sc. Tour, 8vo, p. 114.





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# HISTORY

OF

# GREAT BRITAIN.

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## BOOK VII.

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### CHAP. V.—PART I.

HISTORY OF THE ARTS IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM  
THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD VI. A. D. 1547, TO  
THAT OF JAMES I. A. D. 1603.

#### SECTION I.

#### HISTORY OF THE NECESSARY AND USEFUL ARTS.

THE cessation from civil war, which England Cent. XVI.  
 had now enjoyed during full fifty years, had Improve-  
 not hitherto produced the advantageous effect ments  
 which might have been expected either in manu- tardy.  
 factures or in agriculture. The suppression of  
 religious houses (although of great and general  
 use to the community) at first was the cause of  
 some distress to the lower ranks, as many idle  
 persons had been used to draw their support from  
 those establishments, who now became a burthen  
 on their friends, and increased the clamour of  
 poverty and discontent. There was little ability  
in

**Cent. XVI.** in the superior to direct, and as little readiness in the inferior to follow. Insurrection appeared a shorter road to riches than hard and constant labour; and, from the close of Henry's firm, although capricious government, to the commencement of Elizabeth's steady dominion, the peasant neglected the improvement of the loom, and found no new tracts to pursue with his plough.

**Inclosures  
cause  
commo-  
tions.**

The species of farming which had gained ground in England since the reformation, and which, by turning arable land into pasture, had deprived [1] many labourers of bread, caused great commotion among the peasants, who had likewise another and a juster cause of complaint. The vile policy of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.'s reign had so far debased the coin, that when the husbandman carried his wages to market, it would not purchase necessities for his family. The tumults which such oppression occasioned only added wounds and punishments to penury and discontent. Gradually, however, the eyes of the landholders were opened; books of husbandry were printed and studied; and a system of farming was introduced which was equally beneficial to landlord and tenant.

The

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#### NOTES.

[1] Alluding to this, Sir Thomas More writes, 'that a sheep is become in England a more ravenous animal than a lion or a wolf, and could devour whole villages, cities, and provinces.'

[UTOPIA.]

The vast addition which the general stock of <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> aliment gained by the discovery of potatoes, in <sup>Potatoes.</sup> the 16th century, is too important to be slightly passed over. Captain Hawkins is said to have brought this excellent root from Sancta Fè in New Spain. A. D. 1565. Sir Walter Raleigh soon after planted it on his lands in Ireland; but, on eating the apple that it produced, which is nauseous and unwholesome, he had nearly consigned the whole crop to destruction. Luckily the spade discovered the real potatoe, and the root became rapidly a favorite eatable. It continued, however, for a long time to be thought rather a species of dainty than of provision; nor, till the close of the 18th century, was it supposed capable of guarding the country where it was fostered from the attacks of famine.

For these improvements the men of the 16th <sup>Thomas</sup> century were partly indebted to Thomas Tusser, <sup>Tusser's</sup> a pleasant poet as well as a good farmer, whose <sup>points of</sup> Georgics may be read without disgust by those <sup>husbandry.</sup> who have studied the works of Hesiod, or even of the Mantuan bard. His work was entitled, 'Five Hundred Pointes of good Husbandrie,' and was first printed in 1557. [2] As the book is, though  
not

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#### NOTES.

[2] There were other treatises on agriculture published, but none either so clear or so interesting as that of Tusser. Barnaby Googe wrote 'Foure Bookes of Husbandrie.'

Cent.XVI. not scarce, very little known, and extremely entertaining, the reader will permit a few extracts to be here introduced. The farmer and family's diet is fixed to be 'red-herrings and salt-fish in Lent.' \* At other times 'fresh beef, pork,' &c. At Christmas 'good drinke, a good fire in the hall, brawne, pudding, and souse, and mustard withall, capon or turkey, cheese, apples, and nuts, *with jolie carols.*' † The prudent housewife is advised to make her own candles. Servants are directed to go to bed at ten in the summer and nine in the winter, and to rise at five in the winter, and four in summer. ‡ The holidays throughout the year are appointed for the working men. The gaiest of these festivals seems to be the wake-day, or vigil of the parish saint, 'when everie wanton maie danse at her wille.' §

Hop  
planting.

The directions which Tusser gives for the culture of a hop-garden [3] are remarkably judicious. They finish thus, with a neat point:

'The hop, for his profit, I thus do exalt,  
It strengtheneth drinke, and it favoereth malt;  
And, being well brewed, long kept it will last,  
And drawing abide—if ye draw not too fast.'

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#### NOTES.

[3] The planting of hemp and flax had met with more encouragement from government than that of hops; yet it appears to have totally failed.

\* Tusser, 4to ed. chap. 12.

† Ibid. chap. 30.

‡ Ibid. chap. 52.

§ Ibid. fol. 138.

It should be remarked, that the hop was now a <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> favorite object with the English farmer.

The following stanza is allowed by modern farmers to give good advice, although it is seldom attended to:

‘In Jan’ry, good husband that pouches the grotes,  
Will break up his lay, or be sowing of otes;  
For otes sown in Janu’ry laie by the wheate,  
In May, by the haie, for the cattel to eate.’

His directions for hay-making are excellent, and given with fire:

‘Go! muster thy servants, be captain thyselfe,  
Providing them weapons and other like pelfe;  
Get bottels, and wallets, keepe fielde in the  
heate,

The feare is as much as the danger is great.

With tossing and raking, and setting on cockes,  
Grasse, lately in swathes, is haie for an oxe;  
That done, go to carte it, and have it away,  
The battle is fought, ye have gotten the day!’

This entertaining and instructive bard was born <sup>Life of</sup> in 1527, at Rivenhall, in Essex. He was placed <sup>Tusser.</sup> as a chorister (having a fine voice) at the collegiate church of Wallingford, Berks, whence he was impressed for the royal chapel. He then sang at St. Paul’s, under Bedford, a celebrated musician. Afterwards he became a scholar at Eton, where he once received fifty-three strypes from the rod of a severe but acute master, Nicholas Udall. In 1543, he was admitted to King’s college,



Cent. XVI. lege, Cambridge. He afterwards became by turns musician, farmer, grazier, and poet; but always unsuccessfully, although guilty neither of vice nor extravagance. Tusser's 'Five Hundred Pointes of good Husbandrie' may be perused even now with pleasure. His directions are entertaining, as they shew the customs of his age. From the antiquity of his diction he may properly be styled the English Varro. He died in 1582, it is feared, in distressed circumstances.

These observations on agriculture may well be closed with the venerable Harrison's description of a farmer of his times: 'He will thinke his gaines very small towards the end of his terme if he have not six or seven years rent lieing by him, therewith to purchase a new lease; beside a fair garnish of pewter on his cupboard, with as much more in odd vessels going about the house; three or four feather beds; so many coverlets and carpets of tapestrie; a silver salt; a bowle for wine, if not a whole neast; and a dozen of spoones to furnish owte the sute.' \*


Productive farm. The land of England was certainly in general both cheap and productive. In this and all other cases we may believe the good Hugh Latimer; and he, in a sermon, tells us wonders concerning the produce of a small farm. 'My father,' says he, 'was a yeoman, and had no land of his own; only he

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\* Harrison's Description of England, p. 188.



he had a farm \* of three or four pounds by the year at the utmost; and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had a walk for an hundred sheep; and my mother milked thirty kine,' &c. 'He kept his son at school till he went to the university, and maintained him there; he married his daughters with five pounds or twenty nobles a-piece; he kept hospitality with his neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor; and all this he did out of the said farm.' We may the less wonder at this narrative, when we find that, by an act † of parliament passed but a few years before the good bishop preached, one hundred acres of arable land, and as many of pasture, at Maddingly in Cambridgeshire, are declared to be 'letten to farm for the yearly value of ten pounds' (which is at the rate of one shilling an acre), to pay the fees and wages for the knights serving in parliament for the county of Cambridge.

Cent. XVI.  


Cheap-  
ness of  
land.

If the land was grateful to the tiller, [4] he,  
on

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#### NOTES.

[4] In Dr. William Bulleyn's book 'of simples,' we have the strange instance of a crop which owed nothing to the tiller. 'Anno salutis 1555, at a place called Orford, in Sussex, between the haven and the mayn sea, (whereas never plough came, nor natural earth was, but stones only) there did pease grow whose

\* Gilpin's Life of Latimer, p. 2.

† Stat. Hen. VIII. A. 35, cap. 24.

Cent. XVI.

Singular  
kind of  
harvest-  
home.

on his part, according to the observant Paul Hentzner, was not wanting in acknowledgment, although somewhat ill directed. Our traveller met, as he tells us, some country people ‘celebrating their harvest-home, near Windsor. Their last load of corn they crown with flowers, having besides an image richly dressed,’ (by which perhaps they would signify Ceres) ‘this they keep moving about, while men and women, men-servants and maid-servants, riding through the streets in the cart, shout as loud as they can, till they arrive at the barn.’ He adds that the corn is not tied up in sheaves as in Germany, but mown and carried as hay.\*

Cattle were not plentiful in England at the beginning of Elizabeth’s reign. In 1563 it was enacted, that no one should eat flesh on Wednesdays or Fridays on forfeiture of three pounds, unless in case of sickness or of a special licence, neither of which was to extend to beef or veal.†

Great

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NOTES.

whose rootes were three fadome long; and the coddess did grow upon clusters lyke the chats or keys of ashe trees, bigger than fitches, and less than the field peason; very sweet to eate upon, and served many poore people dwelling there at hand, which els should have perished for hunger, the scarcity of bread was so great.’

[BULLEYN APUD DR. AIKIN.]

\* Hentzner apud Dodsley’s *Fugitive Pieces*, vol. ii. p. 299.

† Stat. 5 Eliz. cap. 4.

Great pains were taken in the act to prove that it was a *political*, not a religious measure. Cent. XVI.

‘As for the difference that is between summer and winter wheat,’ says Harrison,\* ‘most husbandmen knew it not; yet here and there I find of both sorts, specially in the North and about Kendal.’ It should seem by this, that both the common wheat, and the bearded or cone wheat, were known to our ancestors. To close this subject, it ought not to pass unobserved that, slow as was the progress of agriculture, it had yet before the close of the age, almost secured England from those famines which had so usually desolated the kingdom. Yet there was a great difference in the price of wheat in different years. In 1551 wheat was sold at eight shillings the quarter; and in 1595, by reason of an imprudent exportation, the same measure rose to the great price of two pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence; and in the next year, on account of a wet harvest, to four pounds, which almost amounted to a dearth, and caused some commotions in the metropolis. Culture of summer and winter wheat scarce.  
A dearth in 1596.

The land was certainly by no means cultivated to its utmost advantage, and Harrison complains of the vast number of parks in the kingdom; not less he says, than an hundred in Essex alone, ‘where almost nothing is kept but a sorte of wilde and savage beastes, cherished for pleasure and Parks noxious to agriculture.

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\* Description of Britaine, p. 169.

Cent. XVI. and delight.' And pursuing the same subject he says, that 'if the world last a while after this rate, wheate and rie will be no graine for poore men to feed on.'\*

Scotland. The civil dissensions, and even anarchy, which prevailed in Scotland until a late period in the sixteenth century, operated as a harsh check on every improvement in agriculture. Even the total expulsion of ecclesiastical landholders increased this evil; as the monks were easy landlords, and frequently not uninstructed in georgical knowledge.

Husbandmen protected. The tillers of the earth in Scotland had at least their full share of their country's misfortunes, when private vengeance for private wrongs, superseded the regular but timid proceedings of public justice. A statute was then formed for their particular benefit, whereby † the 'slayers and houchers (houghers) of horses and uther cattel,' with their employers and maintainers, are declared 'to incurre the paine of death, and confiscation of alle their gudes movvabil.'

A second act passed in 1587 for the farther protection of husbandmen; declaring all such as destroyed or maimed horses, oxen, &c. cut or destroyed ploughs or plough-gear, (in time of tilling) or trees and corn, should suffer death.‡

Several

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\* Description of Britaine, p. 168.

† Stat. 110, Parl. 7 Jac. VI.

‡ Stat. 83, Parl. 11 Jac. VI.

Several acts of parliament were made to protect the farmers from petulant tithe-gatherers; the proper times of notice were herein pointed out, and liberty given to the tiller of the land to proceed in his work if this notice was neglected. The last\* confirmed and explained the others.

Although great attention was paid during the reign of Elizabeth to the size of horses turned out on forests, commons, &c. yet it was found necessary to lower the standard appointed by Henry VIII. for stallions, from fourteen hands to thirteen. This modification, however, was only to take place in the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, Lincoln, Norfolk, and Suffolk.†

Harrison extols the height and strength of the English draught horses; five or six of them, he says, will with ease draw three thousand weight of the greatest tale for a long journey. As to the numbers of horses in the realm, some judgment may be formed from the quota which Elizabeth, when she moved her place of residence, demanded from the country in the neighbourhood of her palace. This was 24,000; 'a far less traine,' says the reverend writer, 'than those of the kings of other nations.'‡

An English traveller, who visited Scotland in 1598, observed a great abundance of all kind of cattle,

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\* Stat. 84, Parl. 11 Jac. VI.

+ 8 Eliz. cap. 8.

‡ Description of Britaine, p. 220.



Cent. XVI. cattle, and many horses; not large, [5] but high-spirited and patient of labor.\* Great care, indeed, was taken by the English, while the kingdoms were separate, to prevent the Scots from improving their breed by Southern stallions; it was even made felony to export horses thither from England.† This un-neighbourly prohibition was answered by a reciprocal restriction in 1567 as to the exportation of Scottish horses;‡ but France, rather than England, seems to be pointed out by that statute. One circumstance, pointed out by a curious antiquary,§ is a convincing proof, of the modern improvement in the breed. For many years past eight nails have been used to each horse's shoe in the North; six used to be the number.

Limited  
as to  
corn.

The proper season for turning horses to grass was thought a consideration worthy the attention of the Scottish government, avowedly to prevent the waste of corn. All horses were, therefore, ordered to be put to grass from May 15 to October

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#### NOTES.

[5] It is worth remark that William Paton, who wrote an account of the Duke of Somerset's expedition into Scotland in 1547, does not bestow the name of *horses* on the Scottish chargers, but calls them '*prickers*.' Nay, he will not allow that the Scots *rode*, but only *pricked* along.

[TRANSACTIONS OF SCOT. ANTIQUAR. SOCIETY, VOL. I.

\* Moryson's Itin. Part 3, p. 151. † 1 Eliz. cap. 7.

‡ Stat. 22 Parl. 1 Jac. VI.

§ Paper apud Transactions, of Sc. Ant. Soc. vol. i. p. 171.



tober 15, on pain of forfeiting each horse or its value to the king. Gentlemen of 1000 marks, yearly rent, and all upwards are excepted.\* The first of June was substituted, in a subsequent act,† for the 15th of May. Cent. XVI.

The gardens of England, in the age of Elizabeth, seem to have been both magnificent and pleasing. England.  
Garden-  
ing.

At Nonesuche (says Hentzner) there were ‘groves ‡ ornamented with trellis work, cabinets of verdure, and walks so embrowned with trees, that it seemed a place pitched on by pleasure to dwell in, along with health.’ None-  
suche.

He adds, ‘in the pleasure and artificial gardens are many columns and pyramids of marble, two fountains that spout water one round the other like a pyramid, upon which are perched small birds that stream water out of their bills,’ &c. &c.

In the gardens of Hampton Court he saw rosemary [6] nailed over the walls, so as to cover them entirely. ‘This,’ he says, ‘is a method exceeding common in England.’

K 2

The

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### NOTES.

[6] The natural stock of English aromatics was much increased by the Netherlanders, who, flying in 1567 from the racks and wheels of Alva, brought to England their favorite flowers, particularly gilly-flowers (giroslees) carnations, and Provence-roses.

[METERANI HIST. BELG.]

\* Stat. 122 Parl. 7 Jac. VI. † Stat. 56 Parl. 11 Jac. VI.

‡ Hentzner, apud ‘Fugitive Pieces,’ p. 297.

Cent. XVI.  
 Theo-  
 balds.

The same minute observer describes Lord Burleigh's gardens at Theobalds,\* as surrounded by a piece of water, on which he went in a boat rowing among the shrubs. He speaks of a great variety of trees and plants, of labyrinths made with great labor, of a jet d'eau, and of 'a summer-house commanding stews full of fish.'

The description which Sir Philip Sidney gives of a pleasure ground belonging to a man of fashion in Arcadia, was probably applicable to the most elegant gardens of his age; at least it is the portrait of such a one as he would have approved.

'The backside of the house was neither field, garden, nor orchard, or rather it was both field, garden, and orchard; for, as soon as the descending of the stairs had delivered them down, they came into a place cunningly set with trees of the most taste-pleasing fruits; but, scarcely had they taken that into their consideration, ere they were suddenly stept into a delicate green; of each side of the green a thicket; and beside each thicket again new beds of flowers, which being under the trees, the trees were to them a pavillion, and they to the trees a Mosaical floor. In the midst of all the place was a faire pond, whose shaking crystal was a perfect mirrour to all the other beauties; so that it bare shew of two gardens,  
 the

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\* Hentzner, apud 'Fugitive Pieces,' p. 277.

the one in deed, the other in shadows; and in one of the thickets was a fine fountain,' &c. &c.\* Cent. XVI.

Statues too were abundant. When Sir Francis Bacon first walked in Lord Arundel's garden, he started, and exclaimed, 'The Resurrection!'+ Statues.

It was usual both in England and in Wales, for the nobility and gentry to build ornamental summer-houses, or rather drinking-rooms, in their gardens, at some little distance from their mansions, with cellars beneath them. 'These,' says Pennant, 'were used as a retreat for the jolly owners and their friends to enjoy, remote from the fair, their toasts and noisy merriment.'‡

What has been above said relates chiefly to the ornamental parts of horticulture; but there is every reason to think that the produce of the garden, as to fruits, [7] herbs, and roots, equalled that of the 18th century, although probably not at such early periods as those at which the modern gardener has taught his productions to ripen.

The citizens of London were always wealthy and luxurious. Old Kno'well is described by Ben Jonson,

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#### NOTES.

[7] In a survey of 'Bothool Baronie in Northumberland, dated 1576, 'orchettes' are mentioned, 'wharin growes all kind of hearbes and flowers, and fine appiles, plumbes of all kynde, peers, damsellis, nuttes, wardens, cherries too, the black and reede; wallnutes and also licores verie fyne; worthe by the yeare xxi.'

\* Arcadia, vol. i. p. 14, 15.    † Apophthegms of Bacon.

‡ Pennant's Scottish Tour, vol. i. p. 24, 4to ed.

Cent. XVI. Jonson, in a play acted in 1598, as ‘ numbering  
 Apricots, over his green apricots o’ the North-west wall.’\*  
 Plums, But there is to be found in Hakluyt’s Patriotic  
 &c. Instructions to the Turkey Company’s Agents,  
 a circumstantial account of the introduction of  
 many plants to England.† The damask rose he  
 gives to Dr. Linacre; the musk rose, and many  
 kinds of plums, are owed, he writes, to Lord  
 Cromwell; the apricot to a French gardener of  
 Henry VIII. Various flowers, among which he  
 specifies ‘ the Tulipa,’ had lately come from the  
 East by the way of Vienna; the tamarisk had been  
 brought from Germany by Archbishop Grindal,  
 and ‘ many people have received great health  
 by that plant.’ The currant bush he speaks of  
 as lately brought from Zante; ‘ and although,’  
 says he, ‘ it bring not its fruit to perfection, yet  
 it may serve for pleasure, and for some use.’

Vines.

How the culture of the vine, which did formerly enable it to supply a considerable part of the wine which was drank in England, was lost, is a mystery. It appears, however, that good wine was made at some English vineyards in or about 1578; [8] and those of the Lords Cobham,

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#### NOTES.

[8] The contest concerning indigenous vines is much too voluminous for this history. Consult the *Archæologia*, Vol. III. for Mr. Barrington’s paper on English vineyards, and a very particular and curious letter signed L. G. in *Gent. Mag.* Vol. XLV. p. 516.

\* Every Man in his Humour, act i. sc. 2.

† Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 1645.

ham, and Williams of Thame, are expressly mentioned in Barnaby Googe's 'Foure Bookes of Husbandry.' Cent. XVI.

The great abundance of parks, and their bad consequence as to the farming interest of the kingdom, has already been remarked.

So very little appears to have been written concerning gardening by any Scottish writer, that it is not easy to suppose that much improvement was made in that art during the 16th century.

Among the numerous acts pointed at those who do wanton mischief to their neighbours grounds, plantations, and inclosures, orchards are indeed mentioned, and 'zairdes, parkes, and policies,'\* as places to be protected. Fynes Moryson, who visited in Scotland in 1598, observes, that the houses of the nobility and gentry are generally surrounded with little groves of trees. These were probably the 'policies' or improvements intended to be guarded by the act above-cited. Parks were certainly abundant.

The same traveller remarks, that the Scots consumed great quantities of coleworts and cabbages. This naturally implies that attention must have been paid to the management of the kitchen garden. Yet he says that Berwick was the market of the South-Eastern Scots for pease and beans.

Some

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\* Title to Stat. 84, Parl. 6 Jac. VI.

Itinerary ; p. 155.



Cent. XVI.



Some regard seems to have been paid by the Scottish government to the growth of national timber, as there appears an act, in 1555, to compel the inclosing and 'parking' the wood of Falkland, which is said to have been neglected and ruined.\*

Archi-  
tecture.

A mixed system of building was adopted towards the close of the 16th century by those who erected palaces. Perhaps the magnificent house of Elizabeth's celebrated secretary, Cecil, may be named as the finest example of this new order.

Glass, which now became common and cheap enough to be generally used in windows, [9] added much to the conveniencies of life.

'The antient manor-houses of the gentlemen,' Harrison (a reverend associate-historian with the exact Holingshed, at the close of the 16th century) observes, 'were for the most part built of strong timber; howbeit,' he adds, 'such as be latelie builded are commonlie either of bricke or hard stone, or both. Their roomes large and comelie, and their houses of office† farther distant from their lodgings,' &c. &c. 'So that if ever  
curious

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#### NOTES.

[9] The most eccentric contrivances had been used to let in the light. At Sudely-castle thin flakes of the beryl-stone are said to have stood in the place of glass. Some of these were existing when Harrison wrote his 'Description of England.'

\* Stat 48, Parl. 6 Marie.

† i. e. Offices.



curious building did flourish in England, it is in these our yeares, wherein our workemen excell, and are in manner comparable [10] in skill to Vitruvius, Leo Baptista, and Serlo.' He proceeds to mention one great alteration, in point of convenience to the middling people, which had taken place in his time, viz. 'The multitude of chimneies lately erected; whereas in their young daies there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish townes of the realme, (the religious houses and manour places of their lordes alwaie excepted, and peradventure some great personages) but eche one made his fire against a rere dosse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat.' This honest picture of the inconveniencies

Cent. XVI.  
Skilful  
builders.

Improve-  
ment in  
domestic  
conve-  
nience.

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#### NOTES.

[10] Notwithstanding this high encomium on English architects, Mr. Walpole, whose accuracy in assisting the researches of Vertue is uncontrovertible, finds very few in the reign of Elizabeth that merit notice. John Shute, who having studied in Italy, at the cost of the Duke of Northumberland, in 1550, published, in 1563, a book in folio, containing 'The first and chief Groundes of Architecture,' &c. Robert Adams, surveyor of the Queen's works, and Rodulph or Ralph Simmons Adams, who has left only a Military Plan for the Defence of the Thames from Tilbury to London. Simmons has the two colleges of Emanuel and Sidney-Sussex, at Cambridge, still remaining to testify his abilities. There is, besides, one Master Stickles, mentioned by Stowe as an 'excellent architect,' who, in 1596, built for a trial, a pinnace which might be taken in pieces, and was therefore most probably a naval architect.

Cent. XVI. inconveniencies attached to the middle orders of life, and lasting so late as to the days of Elizabeth, is little known, and will hardly meet with credit.

Ecclesi-  
astical ar-  
chitec-  
ture neg-  
lected,  
and why.

Ecclesiastical architecture most certainly improved not in the age of Elizabeth. The destruction of all religious foundations had prevented any increase of temples dedicated to divine worship, by laying open to the public a much greater number of abbeys, chapels, &c. than could be kept in order, at least as the disposition of the English then was directed; else such numbers of beautifully constructed edifices as appear in every county would not remain stripped of their coverings, and exposed to every insult of the weather.

Decline  
of mili-  
tary ar-  
chitec-  
ture.

Military architecture was now on a rapid decline. It had already descended from the lofty towers of Edward I. which, displayed at Caernarvon, Conway, and Caerphilly, awed the beholder; to the watch-boxes of Calshot, Hurst, Sandown, Sandgate, &c. erected by Henry VIII. And even such as these were doomed within a few years to shroud their insignificance within delusive banks of turf; so vast has been the revolution in the *defensive* system of war. Whereas, in the *offensive* detail the cannon has only taken place of the catapulta, and the muquet of the bow, with scarcely more power of action, and a much more uncertain aim.

Little was left for Elizabeth to do towards fortifying her shores, except to repair those castles with

with which her father had lined the Southern <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> coast of England. The great activity of her sea-officers, and the readiness with which her subjects flew to arms in her defence, rendered even her father's fortifications unnecessary.

There were few buildings of a public nature <sup>Civil architecture.</sup> produced in the reign of Elizabeth, The Royal Exchange, built by Sir Thomas Gresham, and named with great ceremony\* by Queen Elizabeth, perished by the fire of London in 1666.

Colleges which were erected within her period have been described, and there only remain to be slightly mentioned the exertions of private persons in providing themselves with convenient, and sometimes magnificent, habitations.

Among these Burghley-house has already been mentioned; Hatfield-house owes its origin to the same great minister, Lord Burghley; and Osterley-house to the patriotic Sir Thomas Gresham. [11]  
The

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#### NOTES.

[11] It was at Osterley that the opulence and gallantry of Sir Thomas rivalled the wonders of romance. Elizabeth had visited that superb mansion, and, on quitting the window to seek her bed, had remarked aloud, 'how much more gracefully the court-yard would appear, if divided in two by a wall.' The words were caught up by Sir Thomas, who instantly, on quitting the royal presence, sent hastily to his masons and bricklayers, assisted them with innumerable laborers, worked all the night, and completed the wall according

\* Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1224.

Cent. XVI.  
Scotland.

The Scottish historians, still inattentive to aught but religion and politics, leave posterity to discover as they can the progress of arts in the North. Architecture of every kind (the erection of colleges, which has been already mentioned, excepted) appears to have been almost at a stand. The rapid destruction of abbeys was more profitable, as well as entertaining, than the slow employment of rearing them; and the nobility, and leaders of factions, took much more pleasure in burning their neighbour's house\* or castle than in raising dwellings for their own domestic convenience, or fortresses to protect their country.

More edifices destroyed than erected.

Ecclesiastical architecture.

In order therefore to do justice to the taste and munificence of our Northern sister, we must have recourse to the research of an accurate antiquary into the general state of the antient religious edifices throughout the country.

Elegance of the Scottish abbeys, &c.

‘The ecclesiastical buildings of Scotland’ (says one who had narrowly attended to them) considered as works of art and magnificence, are in point of execution by no means inferior to those of

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#### NOTES.

according to the queen's wishes before she had risen from her bed. The courtiers were chagrined at the knight's alertness; and one of them consoled himself with a conceit, viz. ‘That it was no way strange that one who could build a ‘change could change a building.’

[ENGLAND'S GAZETTEER.

\* Spotiswood, p. 259, &c. &c.

of England. The ruins of the abbey of Kelso <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> exhibit a specimen of the style commonly called Saxon, not to be equalled by any building of that kind in the South.

‘ The abbey of Melross, in point of beautiful tracery in the windows, high finishing in the foliage, &c. seems carried to the utmost degree of perfection, of which the art is capable.

‘ The general design and decorations of the church of Elgin are elegantly conceived, the parts are likewise finished with great neatness and precision. The abbey of Jedburgh is a beautiful pile, well designed, and finely executed. The abbeys of Dunfermline and Paisley will give pleasure to every lover of that beautiful style of architecture, degraded with the appellation of Gothic. What the abbey of Arbroath wants in neatness and decoration, is compensated for in the greatness of its dimensions. Dundrennan and New Abbeys appear to have been very handsome edifices; as do many more which I have not here room to particularize.’\*

A solitary instance occurs of a temple raised to divine worship during a most disastrous period.

The collegiate church of Biggar was founded <sup>Church at Biggar.</sup> and richly endowed by Malcolm Lord Fleming, in 1545, and is still a handsome building. It has the air of much greater antiquity than is here assigned

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\* Crose's Antiq. of Scot. Introduction, p. xvii. xviii.



Cent. XVI. assigned to it.\* This seems to have been one of the last edifices of the kind which the horrors of civil and religious dissensions gave good men leisure to erect.

Churches divided. Indeed it appears that most of the large churches which escaped the devastations of reform, were, before the close of the 16th age, divided by walls within, and formed into two or more places of divine worship. This measure, although apparently meant for the congregation's convenience, destroyed the whole internal elegance of each structure. [12]

Residence of the clergy. The manses or parsonage-houses belonging to the clergy of Edinburgh (which was originally but one parish) stood together in a close like those of English cities. But the politic James VI. who saw what convenience this situation afforded to the ecclesiastical demagogues for plotting against his authority,

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#### NOTES.

[12] F. Moryson, who visited Edinburgh in 1598, remarks, that in the great church there was a considerable wooden seat built up for the king. There was another, very like the royal allotment, situated exactly opposite to that of the king. Into this Moryson and his friend most inconsiderately went and sat down, but were soon driven from it by the screams and hisses of the congregation; who, though in the midst of divine service, could not bear to see them profane a station, meant only for the exposure of girls who had failed in point of rigorous chastity.

[ITINERARY.]

\* Grose's Antiq. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 35.

authority, having laid the metropolis, in 1597, <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> under an interdict, made it one of the conditions of pardon, and that the manses should be delivered up to him, and that the preachers should live dispersed in various quarters of the city.

There are a few instances among the nobility of Scotland of persons who, in a time of extreme turbulence, raised buildings which still do honor to their taste and munificence.

A magnificent castle was built in or about <sup>Hodden castle.</sup> 1575, by John Lord Herries, one of the most steady of Mary Stuart's friends, on the ruins of Hodden castle in Annandale; a much older building, which had been demolished by the English in their incursion under the Lord Sussex five years before, much about the same time was built.

The Tower of Repentance, which stands near <sup>Tower of Repen-</sup> Hodden castle, was built nearly at the same <sup>tance.</sup> time, as an atonement either for the murder of prisoners in cold blood, or for the demolition of many churches. Both these reasons are given by tradition. The word 'repentance,' which may, perhaps, have been the family motto, is carved on the tower between a serpent and a dove.\*

At Kirkcudbright the wild reformers demolished a beautiful collegiate church, and on its ruins <sup>Castle of Kirkcud-</sup> was erected by Thomas M'Lellan of Bombay, a <sup>bright.</sup> castle,

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\* Grose's Scottish Antiquities, vol. i. p. 142.

Cent.XVI. castle, whose remains still shew that it was once  
 an elegant as well as a large structure.\*

Additions  
 to Stirling  
 Castle. The regent Marr added considerably to the  
 already magnificent castle of Stirling. One  
 building of good workmanship is known to be of  
 his erection; and he is supposed to have testi-  
 fied his contempt for the censures thrown on  
 him, for having employed the stones of a dis-  
 solved abbey in the work, by the following two  
 lines, which are still legible on the gate;

‘ Speak furth, and spare nocht,  
 Consider well—I care nocht.†

An English traveller, who visited Edinburgh  
 in 1598, commends highly the ‘ fair streetes’ of  
 that metropolis; one of which he describes as  
 consisting of large houses all built of free-stone,  
 and extending to the length of a mile. He la-  
 ments, however, that wooden galleries, project-  
 ing from the second stories, lessen the good  
 effect of these respectable edifices.‡

There are specimens of the buildings in the  
 fifteenth and sixteenth centuries still remaining  
 in the capital, which do honor to the architects  
 of those times. [13]

The

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#### NOTES.

[13] Particularly a house on the South side of the High-  
 street, which has a handsome front of hewn stone, and niches  
 in the wall for the images of saints.

[ARNOT'S EDINBURGH.

\* Grose's Scottish Antiq. vol. ii. p. 188. + Ibid. p. 241.

‡ Moryson's Itinerary, part iii. p. 150.

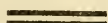
The Tolbooth at Edinburgh was built by the citizens, at the express command of Queen Mary Stuart, in 1561. It was intended as a Parliament-house and a prison. The building, which still remains, has nothing in its appearance of grace or dignity. Cent. XVI.

In 1561 the good fortune of the men of Keswick pointed out the discovery of a most abundant mine near their town of pure copper. A vast store of that valuable mineral, 'lapis calaminaris,' being found in the neighbourhood, brass works were soon begun upon the spot.\* England. Mining.

The charter of the 'mines royal' was granted in 1565 to Humphries and Shute, who at the head of twenty foreign laborers had exclusive patents to dig and search for various metals, and to refine the same in England and Ireland; they had also the exclusive use of the lapis calaminaris. This charter was not completed until 1568, when the Duke of Norfolk and others were added to the governors, and the whole was styled, The Society of the Mineral and Battery Works.† Charter of the mines royal.

The foreigners above-mentioned introduced to England the method of drawing out iron wires by mills; and not, as before, by human strength alone. Mills for lengthening iron wire.

There appears a letter in Hakluyt's collection, dated not long after this period, by which it seems that Lead used to refine silver.



\* Camden, apud Anderson, vol. ii. p. 116, 117. † Ib. p. 123.

**Cent. XVI.** that the refining of silver, by means of quicksilver, was then a new discovery; and that lead had been used for that purpose long before the advantage of that voluble metal had been found out.

**Scotland.** Scotland at this æra, produces, on behalf of her possessing the most valuable metals beneath her barren mountains, an English witness\* named Thomas Atcheson, or Atkinson. He was assay-master of the Edinburgh mint under James VI. He pointed out many places where native gold may be had; and has been the foundation and support of some other works on the same subject, particularly the ‘*Narratio de Metallis et de Mineralibus*,’ said to be written by Colonel J. Borthwick, but really compiled from the book above-mentioned. It does not, however, appear that, positively as these assertions are made, they have ever tempted either kings or private adventurers to form any association which might bring such precious stores to light.

**Dundorc.** There is, however, a circumstance mentioned by Bishop Lesley, in his ‘*Historia Scotiæ*,’ which merits observation. A hill, he says, in the North of Scotland, not very far from Aberdeen, and now called Dunadeer, was then named Dund’ore, or ‘the golden mountain,’ from its abounding in gold. The tradition still remains among the people of that neighbourhood, and they still believe that

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\* Nicholson’s Scottish Library, p. 10.



that there needs only a sufficient acquaintance Cent. XVI.  
with the powers of magic to compass treasures  
beyond those of the Indies.\*

The woollen manufacture proceeded steadily England.  
on without any other aid than now and then an Manufac-  
act of parliament to regulate the length, breadth, ture of  
weight, &c. of the pieces. Such a one passed wool.  
in 1552, and was supposed to have been so ex-  
actly composed as to prevent the need of future  
ordinances. But it was not so; and a very few  
years proved the necessity of still farther restric-  
tions; for with every clause a new species of  
fraud found means to gain admittance.

Still the clothing trade of England increased  
with the industry of the natives, and although it  
is fact that, in 1551, no less than sixty ships  
sailed from Southampton‡ laden with unmanu-  
factured wool for the use of the Flemish looms,  
yet, when proper restrictions were laid on such  
ruinous exportation, princely fortunes were gain-  
ed by the makers of cloth and woollen-drapers;  
and immense charities to the poor, as well as  
magnificent dwellings [14] for themselves and  
L-2 their

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#### NOTES.

[14] The numerous and well-appointed charities of John  
Winchcomb (more known as Jack of Newbury) still speak  
loudly

\* Cardonnel's Antiq. of Scotland, p. 32.

+ Stat. 5 and 6 Edw. VI. cap. 6.

‡ Rym. Fœd. apud Anderson, vol. ii. p. 89.

Cent.XVI.  their families, were proofs of their well-earned opulence. In 1582, when the trade with the Hanseatics was put on a footing advantageous to England, it was proved before the Diet of Germany that 400,000 cloths were annually exported from England to the continent.

Logwood  
decried.

The art of dying woollen-cloth must have been ill understood in 1581, when we find a statute\* containing a Philippic against ‘certain deceitful stuff called “Logwood or Blockwood,” whose colours are represented therein as “false and deceitful at home, and discreditable beyond sea.” This prohibition was twice renewed, nor were the real virtues of that useful substance acknowledged until A. D. 1661.

Manufac-  
ture of  
silk.

The manufacture of silk, which was daily gaining ground in the South of Europe, had made no progress

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#### NOTES.

loudly to his praise. Newbury supplied another manufacturer of wool, Doleman by name, so rich and so little inclined to thrift, that he laid out the enormous sum of ten thousand pounds, on building a vast and strong house near his native place. Fearful of the lashes which he expected to receive from the envy of his neighbours, he inscribed more than one apposite sentence, both in Greek and Latin, above his superb stone porch; as spells against those ill-willers whose peculiar malice he dreaded. The house is named Shaw; and will again stand forward in history, when the fields round Newbury are doomed to be stained with the blood of brethren in arms against each other.

[ASHMOLE'S BERKS, VOL. II. &c. &c.

\* Stat. 23 Eliz. cap. 9.

gress in England. Henry II. of France is said <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> to have been the first who wore a pair of silk stockings, and to him they came from Spain. More will be said of this under the head of dress, &c. [15]

Great attention was paid by the Scots to the <sup>Scotland.</sup> manufacture of wool. During the reign of James V. a very good regulation had been made, appointing proper persons in every burgh to seal each piece of cloth.\* The next reigns abound with statutes to prevent the exportation of Scottish wool to any foreign country. Against England many acts are particularly pointed, as the manufacturers there were probably eager to procure at any rate a commodity of a finer quality than their own.† The English cloth was also prevented by statute ‡ from being imported into Scotland.

Although

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#### NOTES.

[15] It was probably the extreme scarcity and dearth of silk that occasioned the following severe prohibition in the 1st and 2d of Philip and Mary, cap. 2. ‘Whoever shall wear silk in or upon his hat, bonnet, girdle, scabbard, hose, shoes, or spur-leathers, shall be imprisoned and forfeit ten pounds, except great persons, mayors, aldermen, &c. And whoever does not discharge any servant offending in this guise, within fourteen days, shall forfeit 100l.’

\* Stat. 112, Parl. 7 Jac. V.

† Stat. 45, Parl. 6 Marie, &c. &c.

‡ Stat. 23. Eliz. c. 9.

Cent. XVI.

England.  
Art of  
war.No great  
improve-  
ments.

Although fond of war, stout and active in their persons, [16] daring and successful in battle, and forward in enterprise, the English were, nevertheless, much behind their neighbours on the continent in military improvements and discipline. The musquet [17] was almost unknown among the native troops during great part of the sixteenth century. The protector Somerset, who knew the importance of fire-arms, had above 3000 foreigners in his pay, of whom the greatest part were musqueteers. [18] The ill-advised Mary

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NOTES.

[16] Hear what Roger Ascham writes of the English: 'England need fear no *outward enemies*, the *lustie lads* verilie bee in England; I have seen on a Sunday more likelie men walking in St. Paul's church than I ever yet saw in Augusta, (Augsburgh) where lieth an emperor with a garrison, three kings, a queen, three princes, a number of dukes,' &c. &c.

[17] It must have been the awkward make and cumbersome size of the musquet which made it creep so slowly onwards. Sir Roger Williams, an old and valiant soldier,\* wrote a much-commended treatise on the preference of fire-arms to bows and arrows. Yet we find long-bows and sheaves of arrows still used in the equipment of Elizabeth's navy, even to the close of her reign.

[18] Sir Peter Meutas, and Sir Peter Gamboa, distinguished themselves at the fight of Musselburgh. Baptista Spinola fought successfully against the rebels in the West; and Malatesta, in the same year, (1549) was actively employed in Norfolk.

\* Read Davila's '*Guerre Civili di Francia*,' p. 758. How 'Rugiero Villem, valoroso colonello,' defended a bastion which he had taken from the gallant 'Amiral Villars,' and with a pike in his hand, aided only by an ensign and a serjeant, maintained it against a strong detachment of the garrison of Roan, until he received succors.

Mary added as little to the military strength of the realm, as she did to its glory; unless, indeed, by an explanatory act as to the quantity of arms, &c. with which each person should be provided, according to his rank. This statute directed, 'that a man worth 1000*l.* per annum should keep six horses fit for demy-lances, and ten for light horsemen, with furniture and weapons befitting them. Also forty corslets, &c. forty pikes, thirty long-bows, thirty sheaves of arrows, as many steel caps, twenty halberts, harquebuts, and morions or helmets.' This was the highest class. The lower ones were in a like proportion. Every establishment \* was bound to contribute. We find, not long after, the deanery of Canterbury (which was rated at 200*l.* per annum) directed, on the rumour of a rebellion, to supply 'two corslet, two almayn rivets, plate cotes and brigandines, one pike, two long-bowes, two sheaffs and arrowes, two steel caps, two harquebut, and one morion or sallet.'

There existed now no difficulty in raising men for the military service. The pay and clothing allowed to recruits was such as might well tempt them to enlist when the cheapness of living is considered. Every private man had three shillings paid to him weekly, without any deduction; besides which, twenty pence per week was laid out for

Cent. XVI.




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\* Tod's Deans of Canterbury, p. 46.



Cent. XVI.

for him ‘in good apparell of different kinds, some for the summer, and some for the wynter.’ The captain of each hundred men had twenty-eight shillings paid him every Saturday, the lieutenant fourteen, and the ensign seven. The serjeant, the surgeon, the drum, and the fife, five shillings weekly. This was the pay of Essex’s army when he was sent to subdue Tyrone.\*

Sometimes  
obliged  
to serve.

On sudden occasions, where speed was necessary, force was sometimes used; as when the Spaniards had taken Calais, an immediate demand of 1000 men was made by the queen of the Lord Mayor of London, and they were produced almost in an instant by the simple manœuvre of shutting up the doors of St. Paul’s during divine service.

The most numerous force which Elizabeth ever mustered by land was in the armies of 1588. They amounted to about 76,000 foot and 3000 horse, besides garrisons.

Not always  
well  
disci-  
plined.

The long wars in the Netherlands, in which a corps of English soldiers were continually employed, not only formed many good officers, such as Vere, Norreys, &c. but gradually inured the troops to a strictness of discipline with which they had been totally unacquainted. But it was far otherwise with such as issued raw from home on foreign service. Indeed the enterprizes undertaken

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\* Nugæ Antiquæ, vol. ii. p. 17.

taken under Elizabeth's auspices were apt to fail <sup>Cent.XVI.</sup> when the troops or seamen landed. They behaved always with desperate bravery; but either rushed on, without waiting the word of command; or, if not employed, fell by excesses into epidemic complaints.

Robert Cary, Lord Hunsdon, when, as cap- <sup>Military luxury.</sup> tain of a company, he accompanied a detachment to France, carried with him 'a waggon with five horses to draw it, five great (dressed or managed) horses, and one little ambling nagge.' He kept too a table which cost him thirty pounds per week.\*

The first foundery for cannon in England had <sup>Iron cannon.</sup> been formed in 1535 by one Owen; in 1547, Pierre Baudet, a foreigner, erected another near the metropolis.

Iron balls are first spoken of in Rymer's *Fœdera*,† A. D. 1550.

The art of fencing gained no honor from its <sup>Fencing.</sup> first introducer to the notice of England. His name was Yorke; he was a convicted traitor, and signalized, in the service of Spain, his unnatural detestation of his country.

The military strength of England, if exerted <sup>Military force of England.</sup> to the utmost, was very great. Harrison, in his description of Britain, has stated the number of men capable of bearing arms at 1,172,674; Sir Walter

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\* Life of E. of Monmouth, p. 24, 25.

† Rym. Fœd. vol. xv. p. 18.

Cent. XVI. Walter Raleigh, in his 'History of the World,'  
 at 1,172,000; and Peck has preserved a paper\*  
 which confirms the account, by specifying that  
 musters were then made.

Number  
 of the  
 people.

These computations were made between 1575  
 and 1585; from them some idea may be formed  
 of the state of English population at the close  
 the sixteenth century; and it may be fairly ar-  
 gued that, according to the usual rules of poli-  
 tical arithmetic, there were at that period, in  
 the English territories, about 4,688,000 men,  
 women, and children. A strong support to the  
 exactness of the foregoing statement may be  
 found in the account certified to the privy coun-  
 cil by the bishops in 1603,† of persons who  
 attended church service, &c. in 1603. This  
 amounts to 2,065,033. As these must be above  
 the age of sixteen, their number, joined to a  
 fair average of the younger ones, will nearly  
 tally with the computation given above.‡

English  
 fleet  
 neglected  
 by Mary.

But it was in the marine branch of military  
 science that the reign of Elizabeth was distin-  
 guished. At the close of Mary's life, the navy  
 of England, either by a fatal œconomy or a total  
 neglect, was fallen so low, that ten thousand  
 pounds

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\* Desid. Curiosa, vol. i. p. 74.

† MS. Harl. Brit. Mus. No. 280.

‡ Mr. Chalmers's Estimate, p. 34, 35.

pounds a year was looked on to be a sufficient allowance to keep it in proper order. Cent. XVI.

Elizabeth, at her accession, found herself surrounded with powerful and inveterate foes; and conscious that a standing land force, adequate to repel every invasion, would soon exhaust her exchequer, she contrived to guard at the same time and to enrich her dominions, by giving every possible encouragement, consistent with œconomy, to her merchants to build large ships, and to prosecute naval expeditions and discoveries. It was in consequence of this policy, that she found means to equip such a fleet as sufficed to baffle the vast Armada of the presumptuous Philip. It Revives  
under  
Eliza-  
beth.

The papers of Sir William Monson, preserved in the Harleian collection of voyages, abound with curious particulars respecting both the land and sea forces of England. The queen's preparations to encounter the vast fleet and army of Spain are [19] mentioned with exactness and interest; and the proper methods of defending the places

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#### NOTES.

[19] It is impossible to omit a quotation here, which may be, perhaps, judged extraneous to the point in hand. Mr. Chalmers's very curious and interesting 'Estimate of the Comparative Strength,' &c. contains a calculation of the privateers fitted out by Liverpool alone to cruize against the enemy during the American contest; and their burthen amounts to 30,787 tons, which is only 1200 tons less than the whole naval force fitted out by Elizabeth to oppose the vast Armada of Spain!

Cent. XVI. places on the coast most liable to an attack are treated of with striking ability. Monson, who was equally great as a commander and a historian, speaks of the naval abuses in his time, of discipline on board the navy, [20] of the attachment of sailors to privateers, (then styled ‘ships of reprisal’) and of the means of preserving the health of the seamen, &c. &c. in a manner so consonant to modern ideas, that one would think him a well-informed naval writer of the eighteenth century.

Her navy  
in 1588. At the death of his lamented sovereign, Sir William Monson acquaints us that her navy consisted \* of

	Tons.	Men.	Mariners.	Gunners.	Soldiers.
2 ships of	1000	500 of whom were	340	40	120
3	900	{ 500 400			
3	800	400	268	32	100
2	700	{ 350 400			
4	600	{ 350 300			
4	500	250	88	12	30
2	400	200			
10	{ 350 200	{ 160 100	70	10	20
9 smaller vessels.					

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39

We

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#### NOTES.

[20] If punishment could ensure good order, the captain had abundance in his power. ‘He might,’ says Sir William Monson,

\* Monson’s Papers in the Harleian Voyages, vol. iii. p. 188.



We are left in the dark as to the number of <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> guns which these vessels carried, but sixty seems to be the highest number of pieces on board any of them.

The pay of the navy, during the period we treat of, was by the month, as follows: <sup>Pay of the navy.</sup>

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	
To the Captain,	14	0	0	to	6	12	0	} according to his ship's size.
Lieutenant,	3	10	0	to	2	16	0	
Master,	4	13	0	to	3	0	0	
Boatswain,	2	5	0	to	1	10	0	
Surgeon,	1	10	0					
* Common man,	0	15	0					

At the close of James Vth's unfortunate reign Scotland. we find the Scots, depressed by the wretched and impolitic conduct of their king, yet intrepid, and ready to rush into the field at the first alarm; and although not always fortunate in war, yet meriting success by patiently enduring hardships, when led by those on whom they could rely.

In

#### NOTES.

Monson, 'set the offender in the bilboes during pleasure; keep him fasting; duck him at the yard arm; haul him under the ship's keel; fasten him to the capstane and whip him there; or hang weights about his neck until his heart and back be ready to break; or gag him; or scrape his tongue for blasphemy. This,' adds the experienced seaman, 'will tame the most rude and savage people in the world.'

[MONSON'S PAPERS.

\* Monson's Papers in the Harleian Voyages, vol. iii. p. 246.

Cent. XVI.

Manner  
of fight-  
ing.

In Patten's very minute journal of the protector's invasion, in 1548, may be found a circumstantial account of the arms and manner of fighting used by the Scots. Their swords, he describes as broad and thin. Every man has a pike, (limited by act of parliament to the length of 18 feet 6 inches) and 'a kercher wrapped twice or thrice about his neck, not for cold but for cutting.' After painting with great exactness, and some prolixity, the manner of their drawing up and arming their front against an enemy, he thus finishes the picture: 'As easily shall a bare finger pierce through the skin of an angry hedgehog, as aney encounter the front of their pikes.' [21]

Ord-  
nance.

The most sudden change for the worse, in the military detail of Scotland, seems to have been found in the artillery department. At the field of Flodden, in 1513, the train of cannon which accompanied the Scottish army was the admiration of Europe. Yet, in little more than thirty years afterwards, the regent could muster only two pieces of ordnance to attack a castle (St. Andrew's) of the first importance to the state.

The

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#### NOTES.

[21] The great advantage which the spear, spoken of above, possessed above the cutting sword, was never more clearly proved than in 1562, when the Prior of St. Andrew's, with a handful of lowlandmen, armed with lances, totally defeated the numerous highlanders who, under the Earl of Huntley, attacked him with certainty of success.

The change of religion which took place in the North was detrimental to the military spirit of the nation. No longer exercised in repelling or returning the sudden assaults of their neighbours, the commonalty became indeed industrious and inoffensive, but by no means so terrible in war: and, except a few borderers, whose martial turn was kept up by reciprocal pillage and slaughter, the soldier sank into the unmilitary citizen. The perpetual ascendancy of Elizabeth's counsels, and the peaceful turn, as well as the failing treasury, of James the Sixth, all operated against every rising military inclination among a people more inured to war than most nations of Europe.

Cent. XVI.  
Military  
spirit de-  
creases.

The Scots, incapable as affairs now stood of making any improvement in military skill at home, rendered themselves famous abroad for intrepidity. The high esteem in which Kirkaldie of Grange was held in France, and the gallant fall of Norman Leslie at Renty, are evidences, among a thousand others, of their reputation as soldiers.

During the reign of the pacific James VI. his most anxious endeavors seem to have been exerted to prevent his subjects from carrying arms. Almost every session afforded a statute to aid this purpose. ‘Culverings, Dagges, Pistolets,\* and Hagbuts,†’ seem to have been the most dreaded arms. But, in a later act, great apprehension is expressed

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\* Stat. 87, Parl. 6, Jac. VI.    † Stat. 6, Parl. 16, Jac. VI.

Cent. XVI. expressed of such as wear ‘Jackes, Secreates, and Corselets,’ privately within the king’s palace.\*

Printing. The art of printing became every day more important, and now strode forth into the fields of controversy, from its gentler paths of history, romance, and acts of parliament. It was undoubtedly of great service to the reformation, as it diffused knowledge with more velocity than any other way that could have been found out. Controversy in favor of reformation. A few, among the many titles of polemical books which appeared between the years 1546 and 1553, (when the stern rule of Mary commenced) will shew what kind of treatises were then most grateful to the common readers, and yielded most profit to the press.

† ‘The Seconde Course of the Hunter at the Romishe Fox.’

‘Have at all Papistes! by me Hans Hitpricke.’

‘Wyckclyffe’s Wycket, with the Testament of William Tracie, Esq. Wherein thou shalt perceive with what charitie the Chancellour of Worcester burned, when he toke up the dead carkas, and made ashes of it after it was buried.’

‘A Ballet, declaringe the Fal of the Hoore of Babylon, intituled, “Tye thie Mare, Tom-boy.”

‘An Answer to a Papystycall Exhortation, &c. “Every py’d Pedlar—Will be a Medlar”.

With

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\* Stat. 26, Parl. 16, Jac. VI.    † Ames on Printing, p. 506.

With the complexion of the court, that of the press also changed; and, in 1554, we find the following titles : Cent. XVI.  
Of Popery.

‘ \* A Godly Psalm of Mary, Queen, which brought us comfort all,

Thro’ God, whom wee of duety praise, that give her foes a fall.’

‘ A Homily on the Grownde of these Lutheran Factions.’

‘ Boke against certain Heretikes,’ &c.

The Protestants had still some presses in their possession, and thence they sent forth a few sarcastical pamphlets against their foes, such as

† ‘ The hunting of the Fox and the Wolfe, because they make havocke in Christe’s Flocke.’

At the end is a picture of Truth, a poor woman in the stocks. Subtlety as a Jesuit holds a rod up to her, while a monk is ready to strangle her.

‘ An Answer made by Bar. Traheron to a privie Papiste, which crepte among the English exiles under the visor of a favourer of the gospel, but at length bewraied himself to be one of the Pope’s asses thorough his slouch ears, and then became a laughing stocke to all the companie whom he had amased before with his maske,’ &c. &c.

The

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\* Ames on Printing, p. 513.

† Ibid. p. 514.



Cent. XVI.

New subjects for the press.

The accession of Elizabeth swept away all this species of controversy, [22] and brought forward the contest between the square cap and tippet, and the black coif and band; a contest managed with as little temper, and as much scurrility, as that which concerned Transubstantiation and the Seven Sacraments.

Monopoly of printing music, &c.

\* Sometimes the press was recreated with printing music, as we find by a patent for that purpose in 1573. Every thing was at that period thrown into monopolies. The printing of the English Accidence was included in this impolitic pale.

Episcopalian and Puritan controversy.

Most of the books that were printed, during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, had relation to the disputes between Episcopacy and Puritanism. Many of their titles, equally ludicrous and abusive, have been given in another place.

Some

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### NOTES.

[22] An abridgement, 'bref abstract, or short sune,' of some books of the Bible, was printed early in Elizabeth's reign, with this modest apology in the title-page for casual errors:

'Such faltes as you herein may finde,

I pray you be content;

And do the same with will and mynde

That was then our intent.

The prynters were outlandish men,

The faltes they be the more

Which are escapyd now and then—

But hereof are no store.'

\* Ames on Printing, p. 536, 537.

Some publications there were of an eccentric kind, utterly unworthy of such controversial comrades. Cent.XVI.

\* ‘The pleasant History of Two Angry Women of Abingdon, with the humourous Mirthe of Dick Coomes and Nicholas Proverbs, as it was lately played by the Honourable the Earl of Nottingham his Servantes.’ Miscellaneous articles.

‘Dyet’s Dry Dinner, consisting of eight several Courses; 1. Fruites, 2. Herbes, 3. Fleshe, 4. Fishe, 5. Whitemeats, 6. Spice, 7. Sause, 8. Tobacco. All served in order of Time universall.’

† ‘A true Report of the tryumphant and ryall Accomplishment of the Baptisme of the most excellent right high and mighty Prince, Henry Frederick, by the Grace of God Prince of Wales; [23] as it was solemnized August 30, 1594.’

‘1594, printed in Quarto, by Thomas Creed, at the Catharine Wheel, Thames Street.’

During the virulent controversy between the Episcopalians and the Puritans there was a wandering press, which shifted its quarters when in hazard A wandering press.

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#### NOTES.

[23] It appears strange that a book should have been so openly published with such a title, under so jealous a sovereign as Elizabeth.

\* Ames on Printing, p. 568.

† Ibid. p. 426.

Cent. XVI. hazard of discovery, with great alacrity. From its first station, Moulsey, in Surrey, it migrated to Fawlsley, to Norton, to Coventry, to Woolston, and to Manchester. In its course it swept away the lives of some, and the fortunes of many, and particularly that of two knights named Knightly and Wigstone,\* who had harbored its dangerous ingenuity.

John Day. John Day, a printer of Elizabeth's age, merits notice. He was originally from Suffolk; and, under the protection of Archbishop Parker, became one of the first printers and booksellers in London. As he was deeply engaged with the Episcopalians, a fanatical printer, named Asplin, raving with Puritanism, contrived to be taken into the house of Day, and endeavored to assassinate both him and his wife, excusing the attempt by the pretence of an inspiration.† John Day died A. D. 1584, after having had twenty-six children, with the character of a liberal patron to men of literature, and a bountiful friend to the poor. The good old Fox, the martyrologist, is believed to have owed much to this generous artist's hospitality. The epitaph on Day refers to this circumstance in the true fantastic manner of the times:

‘ Here

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\* Ames on Printing, p. 423. † See Ecclesiastical History.

‘ Here lyes the Day that darkness could not  
 blinde,

Cent. XVI.

His epi-  
 taph.

When Popish fogges had overcaste the sunne;  
 This Day the cruel nighte did leve behinde,  
 To view and showe what blodi actes were donne.

He set a Fox to wrighte how martyrs runne  
 By deathe to lyfe; Fox ventured paynes and  
 helthe

To give them lyghte; Day spent in print his  
 welthe;

But God, with gayne, return'd his wealthe  
 agayne, &c. &c.

There appears no exact period when the black letter quitted the English press. A book printed at the close of 1558, giving an account of the ceremonies used at the reception of Elizabeth in London, at her accession, is printed almost entirely in the Roman character; whereas Islip's or Speght's edition of Chaucer's works, published in so late a year as 1603, has only the title-page and the preface in Roman letters, and all the rest in the old black characters. \*

One can hardly avoid lamenting the final de-struction of illumination, which was completed in the 16th century. That beautiful art, however, owed its extirpation to the two greatest benefits with which, in latter ages, mankind have been honored—printing, and the reformation.

The

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\* Ames on Printing, p. 233.

Cent. XVI.

Scotland.

Art of  
printing.

The art of printing appears to have been introduced to Scotland before A. D. 1509. A Breviary printed in that year, and composed by William Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdeen, for the use of his cathedral, is still preserved in the Advocate's library. This early antique is even adorned with a wooden engraving.\*

Earliest  
printer.

Nevertheless, the name of no Scottish printer is preserved earlier than A. D. 1541.

In that year, some new acts of parliament were published by Thomas Davidson the king's printer. This book too is preserved in the same collection, and is beautifully printed on vellum, with an engraved frontispiece and tailpiece. A translation of Boethius appeared soon after by the same printer. These, and several other books, were as fairly and well executed as any other books printed at that time in any other part of Europe.† The catalogue, however, of pieces published in Scotland, during the 16th century, is not very numerous until towards the close, when it became larger and more miscel-

The press  
restrain-  
ed.

laneous. An act ‡ to restrain writings from the press, unless licensed, passed in 1551. [24]

Most

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NOTES.

[24] In this, as in many other places, there is occasion to remark, that the expression 'English' was applied to the dialect

\* Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 432.

† Ib. p. 433.

‡ Stat. 25 Parl. 5 Queen Marie.



Most of the productions of the day tended <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> towards religion. Some politics, and some poetical works, indeed, intervene; among which we find

‘The Lamentation of Lady Scotland, compylit be hirself, &c. Printed at St. Androis, be R. Lekprevik.’

‘My Lord Methwenis Tragedie. Finis with the dytone, quoth Sempill.’

Nothing particular occurs farther to remark, unless that the Scottish press seems to have a much larger supply of Latin pieces than that of England.

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NOTES.

dialect of the Scots. ‘Ass well in Latine as in the *English* tounge,’ is an expression twice repeated in the act here quoted.

## CHAP. V. SECTION II.

HISTORY OF THE FINE ARTS, SCULPTURE, PAINTING,  
POETRY, AND MUSIC, IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM  
A. D. 1547, TO A. D. 1603.

Cent. XVI.

Slow pro-  
gress of  
the fine  
arts in  
Britain.

**S**OMETHING more than a mere repose from civil broils was necessary to tempt the natives of Britain to the cultivation of the more elegant but less necessary arts of peace. Expeditions against the opulent subjects of the Spanish Philip, were more suited to the most active spirits, than sedentary studies; while those of a more studious turn exerted their abilities in the various branches of religious controversy. A more intimate connection with the neighbouring districts of Europe (a connection only to be acquired by reciprocal travelling and a familiar state of commerce) alone could introduce that taste for the arts which, natural to Italy, had made some progress in France and Germany, but waited for a milder season to pass the British Straights.

Sculp-  
ture.

Sculpture seems to have been remarkably tardy in her progress; for, notwithstanding the number of ornamented monuments [25] which the latter  
part

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NOTES.

[25] In the 'Lady's Chapel' at Warwick are the singularly beautiful monuments of the Dudley family, erected in the reign of Elizabeth. Numberless others might be mentioned.

part of the sixteenth century produced, yet we find only one sculptor of any eminence recorded by Mr. Walpole during the reign of Elizabeth, and he was not an Englishman, although named Richard Stephens. He was a statuary, a painter, and a medallist. The monument which he raised for \* Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex, at Boreham in that county, has many figures in a good style. Some of this artist's medals of private persons are mentioned by the noble author of the 'Anecdotes of Painting,' &c. Cent. XVI.  
Medals.

Some good medallions were struck, during Elizabeth's reign, on great public occasions; particularly on the defeat of the Spanish Armada. As the artists names are not known, there is little reason to suppose them Englishmen.†

In Scotland nothing could be expected in favor of an art, the destruction of whose fairest works was one among the most prominent objects of John Knox's system of reformation. An active demolisher of monuments would have gained his living under the tasteless apostles of Caledonia with much more ease than the most expert statuary. Scotland.

That branch of sculpture which looks toward medals, produced more than one scene from the eventful history of Mary Stuart; among these, the

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\* Anecdotes of Painting, &c. vol. i. p. 160.

† Evelyn on Medals, p. 91, &c.

Cent.XVI. the following is truly pathetic. The queen appears as low as the waist, holding her breviary; the motto, 'O God grant patience, in that I suffer vrang.' On the reverse is read

'Quho can compare with me in grief?  
I die, and dar nocht seik relief.'

Beneath is a hand ready to join one heart to another, with this motto:

'Hourt not the heart  
Quho's joy thou art.'

The piece is of silver, and weighs two ounces; but the merit of it cannot be attributed to the artists of Scotland, as the name of the engraver is not known.\*

Painting. Painting lay dormant in England during the short reign of Edward VI. [26] Under Mary it was enlivened by the presence of Antonio Sir Antonio More. More,† a native of Utrecht, who was sent over to London that he might paint the portrait of the intended bride of the Spanish Philip. For this work he had an hundred pounds, a gold chain, knighthood, and a pension of a hundred pounds per

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#### NOTES.

[26] Mr. Walpole mentions a catoptric portrait of Edward VI. which lay among the stores of old pictures at Somerset House. It is remarkable that Paul Hentzner, in his account of Whitehall, describes this very picture.

\* Nic. Scot. Hist. Lib. p. 95.

† Walpole's Anecdotes, vol. i. p. 122.

per quarter as painter to their majesties. He <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> stayed in England during the reign of Mary and was much employed. [27]

Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire,\* who, after a long confinement in the Tower, died by poison at Padua, was, if we may credit Strype, [28] no mean proficient in this elegant art.

Elizabeth encouraged painting because she was never tired of seeing portraits of herself; [29] and

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### NOTES.

[27] Intoxicated with the familiarity in which Philip indulged him, More one day returned a friendly tap on the shoulder from the king's hand with the blow of a stick. For this offence he was banished from Spain. The king soon recalled him; but the artist, who probably knew the dark depth of Philip's mind, declined the invitation. [WALPOLE.

[28] 'Facile et laudabiliter, cujuscunque imaginem, in tabula exprimeret.' [MEMORIALS.

[29] 'A pale Roman nose, a head of hair loaded with pearls and powdered with diamonds, a vast ruff, a vaster fardingale, and a bushel of pearls, are the features' by which we recognise Elizabeth.

There exists a family piece in which Henry VIII., Edward, Mary and Philip, and Elizabeth (as the principal figure, and too large in proportion to the rest) appear. Circumscribed in golden letters are these verses, suspected by Mr. Walpole to be written by the queen.

'A face of much nobility, lo! in a little room!

Four states and their conditions here shadowed in a show;

A father more than valiant; a rare and virtuous son;

A daughter zealous in her kind; the rest the world doth know;

And

\* Walpole's Anecdotes, vol. i. p. 128.



Cent. XVI. and happily our age possesses not only her likenesses, but those of every celebrated man in her court. Numbers of foreign [30] artists now found encouragement in England, but the native painters were very few indeed. Of these \*  
 Nicholas Hilliard. Nicholas Hilliard, the queen's jeweller, was one of the most celebrated. He was a neat painter, and Dr. Donne sings of him,

‘ A hand or eye  
 By Hilliard drawn is worth a history  
 By a worse painter made.’

Yet Mr. Walpole says, that ‘ he arrived at no strength of coloring, and that his faces are pale, and void of any variety of tints.’ In his age, however, his performances were greatly valued.  
 Hilliard

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#### NOTES.

And last of all a virgin queen to England's joy we see,  
 Successively to hold the right and virtues of the three.’  
 On the foreground is written :

‘ The queen to Walsingham this table sent,  
 Mark of her people's and her own content.’

[30] Among these was Frederic Zuccherò, a caustic portrait-painter; who, when employed by Pope Benedict XIII. having been insulted by the servants of that pontiff, painted them with asses' ears, and exposed the picture in the most public place in Rome. This sally of resentment drove him from his office. Also Cornelius Ketel, a native of Gouda. This wild performer, after gaining great fame by painting in the common stile, laid aside his brushes and painted with his fingers, and afterwards with his toes; and is said to have executed these pieces with uncommon excellence.

[WALPOLE.

\* Walpole's Anecdotes, vol. i. p. 148.

Hilliard died in 1619; in a MS of his, discovered by Vertue, he highly praises the performances, chiefly in black and white, of John Bolsam, an artist whose works have entirely disappeared. Cent.XVI.

The value set on the art was not high. There appears, in the fifteenth volume of the *Fœdera*, a salary of ten pounds per annum granted to William Herne, the queen's serjeant-painter.

Isaac Oliver,\* an excellent miniature painter, Isaac Oliver. probably of foreign extraction, flourished in the days of Elizabeth. Every one of his numerous performances which are now extant are extremely valuable; fortunately, besides their own merit, most of them have the additional value of representing the most distinguished characters of the age. Oliver lived to shine in the days of Elizabeth's successor.

The age afforded one gentleman who attained the perfection of a master: [31] Sir Nathaniel Bacon, † Knight of the Bath, half brother

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#### NOTES.

[31] 'But none, in my opinion, deserveth more respect and admiration for his skill and practice of painting, than Master N. Bacon, (younger son to the most honorable and bountiful-minded Sir Nicholas Bacon) not inferior, in my judgment, to our skilfullest masters.'

[PEACHAM ON LIMNING.

The bust and tomb of this accomplished knight are to be seen in the church of Culford, Suffolk.

\* Walpole's *Anecdotes*, vol. i. p. 152.      † *Ibid.* p. 163.

Cent. XVI. brother of the great Sir Francis. He studied painting in Italy, but his coloring approaches nearer to the style of the Flemish school.

Hans Holbein. England ought not to lose the deserved honor of fostering and nobly rewarding the labors of Hans Holbein, an excellent artist, who died in 1554, probably at the house of his patron the Duke of Norfolk in Duke's Place, London; he was born at Basil in Switzerland (as Vertue believed) in 1498.

Erasmus was the first who patronised his merit. The Lord Arundel admired his skill, and advised him to visit England. He did so in 1526, tempted by the pleasure of leaving a froward wife, and of receiving a larger price for his painting. The people of Basil (enchanted with a fly which Holbein had drawn on a portrait so naturally, that many attempted to brush it off) endeavored in vain to detain him. In England he was received and encouraged by Sir Thomas More, until Henry chancing to see his performances seized on the artist for himself; and settled on him a pension of 200 florins, besides paying him for each picture he drew.

Once, Holbein is said to have precipitated down stairs a peer who had intruded on him when he was drawing a lady's portrait for the king. The painter rushed to Henry and told his tale, which was received with a frown; and he was ordered to the royal closet. Next came the peer loudly

loudly complaining, and misrepresenting the story. But Henry, after reprimanding him for his want of candor, thus addressed him: 'It is *me*, not *Holbein*, whom you have insulted. I can make seven peasants into as many lords; but I cannot make one *Holbein*. Begone! and remember that *I* protect him.' The behavior of Henry, Mr. Walpole observes, is the most probable part of the anecdote. Cent.XVI.

The king employed Holbein abroad as well as in England, and paid him so well, that the munificent offer made by Basil of 'fifty florins a year for two years certain,' could not lure him back to his family. There are in Kensington Palace eighty-nine fine drawings [32] of this master.

The want of some historian or biographer to Scotland. have noted the artists of Scotland, is still severely felt by him who wishes to record their merits. It is with difficulty, and from a private correspondent, that Mr. Walpole, the most diligent of searchers, has gained some particulars concerning George Jamisone, \* the Vandyke of Scotland, who began to be known towards the close of the sixteenth century. But the account of him will come more properly a little later in this work.

The

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#### NOTES.

[32] These have since been engraved in a masterly style and published.

\* Walpole's Anecdotes, Appendix to vol. iii. p. 2.

Cent.XVI.

Engraving.

The practice of engraving gained considerable strength towards the close of the 16th age. Archbishop Parker was its especial patron,\* and kept two persons in his house, Hogenberg, and Lyne an Englishman, employed chiefly in engraving genealogies. A large piece of this kind, engraved in 1574 by one of these artists, comprehending the lineal descent of the English monarchy, was existing (says Ames in his *Typographical Antiquities*) in the manor-house of Ruckholts, in Essex.

This art (says Mr. Walpole) when once discovered, could not fail to spread in an age of literature.

Praise of English artists.

Ortelius, who published the ‘*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*,’ employed more than one artist from England in the engravings for his work; and gives particular [33] commendation to English engravers.

Saxton's maps.

Christopher Saxton was the first regular engraver of county maps which England had seen. His map of Yorkshire is allowed by Thoresby to be ‘the best that was ever made of that county.’ He † had a patent from the queen for his undertaking.

The

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#### NOTES.

[33] He expressly names Antony Jenkinson who flourished in 1562, and Robert Leeth as skilful in taking the plot of a country.

[WALPOLE.]

\* Ames on Printing, p. 540.

† Ibid. p. 542.



The people of England under Elizabeth seem to have been as fond of portraits of remarkable persons as they are in the eighteenth century. Cent. XVI.  
Engraved  
portraits  
common.  
‘ By this time,’ says Stowe, speaking of the Duke D’Alençon, ‘ his picture, state, and titles, were advanced in every stationer’s shop, and many other public places.’

In the Cecil papers, the queen appears much displeased at certain bookbinders who had printed the face of her majesty, and of the king of Sweden (who courted her) together, and orders such engravings to be seized and taken away. [34]

An art (that of poetry) now comes in view, Poetry. which, as most adapted to the taste of a warlike and not highly polished nation, not only at this epoch boasted most votaries, but had never quitted the island even in the most barbarous times.

The age of Elizabeth has been styled ‘ the golden age of English poetry ;’\* an epithet which every reader of taste will controvert when he has studied its history, and convinced himself of the extreme inequality of its writers, and of the  
real


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NOTES.

[34] ‘ Had Elizabeth been always thus circumspect,’ says Evelyn, ‘ there had not been so many vile copies multiplied from an ill painting as, being called in and brought to Essex house, did for several years supply the pastry-men with peels for the use of their ovens.’

[ART OF CHALCOGRAPHY,

\* Hist. of Poetry, vol. iii. p. 490.

Cent. XVI.  real scarcity of good poets. Yet that a sudden improvement in every species of poetry, and particularly in that appropriated to the stage, appeared towards the close of the sixteenth century, must be allowed.

And why. The judicious historian of English poetry imputes that predominance of fancy and fiction which now glittered in every poetical production, partly to the very classical education universally allowed by people of rank to their children of both sexes; and partly to the importation and translation of numberless Italian novels, the reveries of a fashionable but false philosophy, 'a degree of superstition sufficient for the purposes of poetry, the adoption of the machineries of romance, and the frequency and improvement of allegoric exhibitions in the popular spectacles.'\*

Mysteries  
and Mo-  
ralities.

At the beginning of the period which we now read of, two kind of dramatic spectacles, the Mystery and the Morality, had possession of the stage. These were composed in a tragi-comic style, and had yet a strong tendency towards devotion. [35] The mystery always exhibited some scripture

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#### NOTES.

[35] 'New Custome,' a morality published in the year 1573, had the following *Dramatis Personæ*, from whose names its tendency may be easily discovered:

Perverse Doctrine,	An old Popish Priest.
Ignorance,	Another, but older.

New

scripture story, most absurdly and ludicrously Cent. XVI.  
 (although with no profane intention) versified;  
 the morality had more contrivance, and some-  
 times shewed a boldness of thought worthy of a  
 brighter age. A very striking instance of this  
 we shall find in the 'Coventry Play,' or 'Ludus  
 Coventrice,\* sive Ludus Corporis Christi.' This,  
 in a gross and rude style, has forestalled the idea  
 of our great Milton. But such flights of genius  
 were not often to be expected in a kind of com-  
 position which avowedly set order and common  
 sense at defiance.

'Gammer Gurton's Needle' is usually styled Gammer  
Gurton's  
Needle.  
 the first English comedy; for it appeared not  
 until A. D. 1575; although Chetwood, in his  
 'British Theatre,' speaks of fancied editions much  
 earlier. The humor, though extremely low, is  
 abundant; and the strict rules of the antient co-  
 medy are more minutely attended to in its compo-  
 sition than a modern critic would expect.

The

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NOTES.

New Customé,	A Minister.
Light of the Gospel,	Another.
Hypocrisie,	An olde Woman.
Creweltie,	A Ruffler. (a)
Avarice,	Another.
Edification,	A Sage.
Assurance,	A Vertue.
Godde's felicity.	A Sage.

\* See Appendix.

(a) A cheating bully.

Cent. XVI.

Tragedy  
of Gor-  
boduc.

The tragedy of Gorboduc, which was acted before Elizabeth at Whitehall, in 1561, deserves notice, as having been perhaps the first specimen of our language of an heroic tale, written in blank verse, divided into acts and scenes, and clothed with all the formalities of a regular drama. It was written by Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst; with some assistance, as is said, from Thomas Norton, the coadjutor of Hopkins and Sternhold in the translation of David's Psalms.\*

The following lines, in which Prince Ferrex imprecates curses on himself, if he ever meant ill to his brother Porrex, are not without animation:

‘The wrekefull Gods pour on my cursed hede  
Eternal plagues, and never-dying woes!

The hellish prince adjust my dampned ghoste  
To Tantal's thirste, or proud Ixion's wheele;  
Or cruel gripe to gnaw my growing harte,  
To durynge tormentes and unquenched flames;  
If ever I conceived so foule a thought

To wishe his ende of life, or yet of reigne.’

Epic.

That the epic branch of poetry had reached to an amazing height in the reign of Elizabeth there needs no other evidence than what a perusal of ‘The Faerie Queen,’ or indeed only of ‘The Cave of Despair,’ painted in the ninth canto, will afford.

The

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\* Hist. of Poetry, vol. iii. p. 355.

The irregular ode, or sonnet, was exceedingly <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> wild, and somewhat unharmonious, at the com- <sup>Sonnet.</sup> mencement of the period we treat of. During the latter part of the century that species of composition was much attended to, and improved more perhaps than any other.

A new kind of poem, the ballad, had now suc- <sup>Ballad.</sup> ceeded to the minstrel's song and was become common and very popular. [36] Ballad-singing was indeed so much in vogue, and the employment so lucrative, that two celebrated treble-singers, named\* 'Out-roaring Dick,' and 'Wat Wimbars,' are said to have gained twenty-shillings a-day by chanting ballads at Braintree fair in Essex.

The first drinking song that appeared in the English tongue is connected with 'Gammer Gorton's Needle,' and was published in 1551.

A singular

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#### NOTES.

[36] Ballads, as has been the case in modern times, were, sometimes made the vehicle of satire. We find that Thomas Deloney was committed to the Counter, in 1596, for ridiculing the queen, and the book of orders concerning the dearth of corn, in a ballad. Deloney was a collector of inferior antiquities. Among other books he had published the 'History of Jack of Newbury,' collected from traditions of the time, and containing several curious ballads and reliques of old customs. Little more is known of this writer except that he had satirized Kempe the comedian in what he calls 'Abhominable Ballets.'

\* Hist. of Poetry, vol. iii. p. 292, note c.



Cent.XVI.  
  
 Latin  
 measures  
 adopted.

A singular attempt was made, early in Elizabeth's reign, by the accomplished Sir Philip Sidney, to introduce the use of Hexameters and Pentameters in English poetry. It had little prospect of applause, when out of twenty lines, the two following only could be reckoned tolerably harmonious.

' Fortune, Nature, Love, long have contended  
 about me,  
 Which should most miseries cast on a worm,  
 as I am.'

The experiment succeeded still worse, when pointed at an imitation of the Sapphic:

' If mine eyes can speak, to do hearty errand,  
 Or mine eye's language, she do hap to judge of,  
 So that eye's message be by her received;  
 Hope, we do live yet! '\*

Lives of  
 English

Some account of the poets of the age, and of their works, will naturally follow what has been said of their art. It shall be as concise as possible, but the subject is copious.

Edward VI. was too much engaged in the study of languages, and his sister Mary I. too devout, for the due attendance on a study peculiarly adapted to minds unfettered and clear of any impetuous pursuit.

Elizabeth,

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\* Arcadia, vol i. p. 140, 141.

Elizabeth, born to exceed her father [37] in <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> every accomplishment, as well as in every ex-<sup>Eliza-</sup>ertion of royalty, was, as we have seen, far from <sup>beth.</sup> an indifferent poet.

One of her most distinguished ministers, <sup>Lord</sup> Thomas Sackville, <sup>Buck-</sup> Lord Buckhurst, had the <sup>hurst.</sup> suffrage of his age's best critics in favor of his 'Gorboduc.' But, as he lived to the reign of James I. it is there that he will properly be noticed.

Another

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#### NOTES.

[37] The throne of England has frequently added to the list of bards. We have verses by Richard Cœur de Lion, by Edward II. Edward III. and by Henry VI.; which last, as they are very curious, and little known, will be inserted here, although undoubtedly quite out of their place. They seem to have been composed during the depth of his calamities.

'Kingdomes are but cares,  
State ys devoid of staie;  
Ryches are redie snares,  
And hastene to decaie.

Plesure ys a pryvie pryke  
Whych vyce does styll provoke;  
Pompe unprompt, and fame a flayme,<sup>1</sup>  
Pow'r a smouldrying smoke.

Who meeneth to remoofe the rocke  
Owte of the slymie mudde,  
Shall myre himselfe, and hardlie scape  
The swellynge of the floodde.'

[NUGÆ ANTIQUÆ.]

Cent. XVI.

Sir Philip  
Sidney.

Another favorite of Elizabeth, Sir Philip Sidney, must undoubtedly be ranked among the poets of her age.

This amiable young man (for he was hardly thirty when he was slain) had been equally the delight of Elizabeth's court and army, as his person and endowments were only equalled by his valor and humanity. After his thigh-bone had been broken by a musquet-shot, in the agony of his wound he called for water. Some was brought to him, but, as he was lifting it to his lips, the ghastly looks of a dying soldier struck his eye. 'Take this,' said he, holding the water to him, '*thy* necessity is yet greater than *mine*.' He died with the resignation of a saint; and, so general was the grief for his loss, that it was looked upon 'as a sin' to appear in gay clothes at court for several months after. Elizabeth lamented his death, and James of Scotland wrote his epitaph. As a writer Sidney appears rather a man of great literature than of bright genius. His *Arcadia*,\* so highly admired in its age, is now little esteemed. What follows is by no means his worst poetry. He speaks of a capricious mistress, who, like Buchanan's Neera, pretends an attachment, that he may not quit her in despair:

'No!

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\* Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 164.

‘ No !—She hates me—Well away !

Cent. XVI.

Feigning love, somewhat to please me.

For she knows, if she display

All her hate, death soon would seize me,

And of hideous torments ease me.\*

John Heywood was a sprightly bard, bred at <sup>John Hey-</sup> Oxford. His wit introduced him to Sir Tho-<sup>wood.</sup>mas More, and could even enliven the hours of that gloomy bigot Queen Mary. After her death, buffoon as he seems to have been, Heywood chose to quit his country rather than live among triumphant heretics. He repaired to Mechlin, where he died in 1565.

In one of his poems Heywood interwove all the proverbs used in England into a comic but silly tale. The following is a specimen. Neighbours were censuring an old woman for going to be married :

‘ One said, “ A well-favored old woman she is ;”

“ The divell she is,” said another; and to this

In came another, *with his five egges*, and said,

“ Fifty yeares past I knewe her a trimm mayde.”

“ Whate’er she were then,” cries one, “ she is  
nowe

“ To bee a bride, *as meeete as a sowe*

“ *To beare a side-saddle* In this marriâge

“ Shee is comely *as a cowe in a cage*,

“ *Ge’*

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\* Astrophel and Stella, p. 114.

Cent. XVI.



“ *Ge’ upp with a gal’d backe Gill! Come up to supper;*

“ *What! My oulde mare, woulde have a new crupper?*” \* &c. &c.

This prolific poet wrote 600 epigrams, besides numberless plays, and several longer pieces, almost all now in oblivion.

Richard  
Edwards.

In 1566 died Richard Edwards, an amiable and ingenious bard, born in Somersetshire,† and bred at Corpus Christi College, Oxon. He was one of our earliest dramatic writers, was celebrated for his knowledge of music, (which he studied under Dr. Etheredge) and had a patent to regulate the children of the royal chapel as comedians.‡

Just before his death he was honored with the queen’s presence in Christ Church Hall at Oxford, to view his favorite tragedy, ‘Palamon and Arcite.’ This was much applauded, but Elizabeth delighted most in the imitation of a pack of hounds in full cry. The young scholars were taken in, and cried out, ‘There! There! He’s caught! he’s caught!’ and the queen exclaimed, ‘Oh, excellent! These boys, in very troth, are ready to leap out of the windows that they may follow the hounds!’ §

On

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\* Heywood’s Proverbs, 2d part, chap. i.

† Hist. of Poetry, vol. iii. p. 283, 284. ‡ Chetwood.

§ Ath. Oxon. ad Art. Edwards.



On his death-bed he composed a pathetic poem, entitled, 'Edwards's Soul's Knell.' He published a collection of his own poems under the quaint title of 'A Paradise of Daintie Devices.' One of them begins thus:

Cent. XVI.

'In youthful yeares, when first my young desires  
began

To pricke me forth to serve at court, a slender,  
tall young man,

My father's blessing then I asked on my knee,  
Who, blessing me with trembling hand, these  
words 'gan say to mee,

"My sonne, God guide thy way, and shielde  
thee from michaunce!

And make thy juste desertes at court thy  
poore estate advaunce!" &c.

In 1578 died George Gascoigne, a gentleman well skilled in poetry. He had been bred to the law at Gray's Inn; had behaved well in the Low Country wars; and, both in his winter quarters and after his return to England, had followed the Muses. He published his poems as 'Flowers,' 'Herbs,' 'Weeds,' &c. An account of his 'Well-employed Life and Godly End' was published by a Mr. George Whetstone. Gascoigne styles what follows 'The Dole of Despair.' It is written to a false mistress:\*

George  
Gas-  
coigne.

'I must

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\* Muses Library, p. 168, &c.

Cent. XVI.

' I must allege and thou canst tell,  
 How faithfully I vowed to serve,  
 And how thou seemdst to like me well,  
 And how thou saidst, I did deserve,  
 To be thy lord, thy knight, thy king,  
 And how much more I list not sing.  
 And canst thou now, thou cruel one,  
 Condemn desert to deep despair?  
 Is all thy promise past and gone?  
 Is faith so fled into the air?  
 If this be so, what rests for me  
 But in my song to say of thee :  
 If Cressid's name were not so known,  
 And written wide on ev'ry wall,  
 If bruit of pride were not so blown  
 Upon Angelica withall ;  
 For high disdain you might be shee,  
 Or Cressid for inconstancy !'

George  
Ferrars.

George Ferrars died in 1579, a man of family,  
 a lawyer, a historian, and a bard. He had some  
 share in the ' Mirrour of Magistrates,' which was  
 a joint composition of the best poets of the  
 time. The most remarkable circumstance of  
 his life was his being arrested for debt when  
 serving in parliament for Plymouth in 33 Henry  
 VIII. From this incident, and the succeeding re-  
 sentment of the house, sprung that freedom from  
 arrests which representatives have ever since en-  
 joyed. Ferrars was employed as a man of wit to

amuse

amuse Edward VI. at a time when the accusation Cent. XVI.  
 and consequent death of his uncle Somerset gave  
 him great concern. He was also 'Lord of Misrule'  
 at Greenwich, to divert the same prince. From  
 his 'Complaynte of the Dutchess of Gloster,  
 exiled to the Isle of Man,' the following lines are  
 taken, as a specimen of his talent for description:

'There felt I first poor prisoners hungry fare:  
 Much want, things scant, and stone walls hard  
 and bare.'

'The chaunge was straunge from silk and clothe  
 of golde,

To rugged fryze my carcass for to clothe,  
 From prynces' fare, and daynties hot and colde,  
 To rotten fishe, and meate that one wolde  
 lothe;

Diet and dressinge moche alike were bothe;  
 Beddinge and lodginge all alike were fyne;  
 Such downe it was as served well for swyne.'

In 1592 perished Christopher Marloe, an ele-  
 gant poet, but a very bad man, if we may believe Christo-  
pher  
Marloe.  
 Antony à Wood, who charges him with profligacy, blasphemy, and atheism.

Some idea of his fanciful Muse may be formed  
 from what follows:

——— 'A stream of pureness rare,  
 Brighter than sunshine, for it did acquaint  
 The dullest sight with all the glorious prey  
 That in the pebble-paved channel lay.

Upon

Cent. XVI. Upon its brim the eglantine and rose,  
 ~~~~~ The tam'risk, olive (and the almond-tree,  
 A kind companion, in one union grows)  
 Folding their twind'ring arms, as oft we see  
 Turtle-taught lovers either other close,  
 Lending to stillness, feeling sympathy.  
 And as a costly vallance o'er a bed,  
 So did their garland tops the brook o'erspread  
 With leaves which differ'd both in shape and  
 shew,  
 Tho' all were green, yet diff'rence such in  
 green,  
 Like to the chequer'd bent of Iris's bow,' &c. &c.  
 Marloe wrote the beautiful and well-known  
 song, 'Come live with me, and be my love,' and  
 the answer to it.

He fell in a quarrel about a common prostitute, in a filthy brothel. His antagonist was, as Antony à Wood quaintly expresses it, 'A bawdy serving-man; one rather fitter to be a pimp than an ingenious amoretto,\* as Marlowe conceived himself to be.' The warm religionists represented the death of Marloe as an immediate judgment of heaven.

Edmond  
Spenser.

The year 1596 or 1598 deprived England of the great Edmond Spenser.+ He was born in London, and educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge.

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\* Ath. Oxon. vol. i. p. 338.

+ Muses Library, p. 253.

Cambridge. He quitted the university on a dis- Cent. XVI.  
 appointment in standing for a fellowship. Soon  
 after this his poetical vein began to expand itself  
 in complaint of his Rosalind's cruelty. His  
 animated Lines on Despair gained him the patro-  
 nage of Sir Philip Sidney; and he acquired the  
 praise and favor of his queen by his picture of  
 the ghastly visit paid by Duessa, a potent sorce-  
 ress, to 'Night.' For this stanza Elizabeth is  
 said to have ordered him one hundred pounds:  
 'What!' said the æconomical Burleigh, 'all this  
 for a song?' 'Give him then what is reason,' said  
 the queen, who had already repented of her ge-  
 nerosity. Spenser, to whom this colloquy had  
 been told, waited for some time with patience,  
 but at length presented this petition:

'I was promis'd on a time—to have reason for  
 my rhyme;

From that time unto this season—I've received  
 nor rhyme nor reason.'

The queen perused the sarcastic complaint,  
 frowned on Burleigh, and ordered the 100l. to  
 be paid. Soon after fortune smiled on our bard.  
 He wedded a rich wife, was made secretary in  
 Ireland, and had a large grant of lands. During  
 his residence there he finished his admired Fairy  
 Queen. Desmond's revolt utterly rooted up his  
 happiness. His plantations were destroyed, his  
 house and one of his children in it burnt, and  
 himself



Cent. XVI. himself forced to fly to England. Even thither misfortune accompanied him. Sidney was dead, and Spenser had no other patron, and is believed to have languished and died in actual penury.[38] The subsequent affecting lines, in 'Mother Hubbard's Tale,' are supposed to have given disgust to Lord Burleigh:

' Full little dost thou know that hast not try'd  
 What hell it is, in suing long to bide.  
 To speed to-day ; to be put back to-morrow ;  
 To feed on hope ; to pine with care and sorrow ;  
 To have thy *prince's* grace, yet want her *peer's* ;  
 To gain thy asking, yet wait many years ;  
 To fret thy soul with crosses and with care ;  
 To eat thy heart thro' comfortless despair ;  
 To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run ;  
 To spend, to give, to want, to be undone.'

Jasper  
 Hey-  
 wood.

Jasper Heywood, D. D. the son of the epigrammatist John,\* before spoken of, died at Naples in 1597-8. He had been bred at Merton College, Oxon, whence his profligate conduct had driven

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#### NOTES.

[38] Camden's account of Spenser has been here, perhaps, too implicitly followed. Mr. Malone, in his interesting remarks on Shakespeare, edit. 1790, gives good reasons for doubting both the distress of the poet and the date of his decease. What then will be the explication of

' The thrice three Muses, mourning for the death  
 Of learning, late deceas'd in beggary,'  
 in the ' Midsummer Night's Dream?'

\* Hist of Poetry, vol. iii. p. 388, &c.

driven him. He then became a Jesuit, [39] and <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> was sent on a mission to England; where, with many of his brethren, in 1585, he was thrown into prison, whence he escaped with life by the unexpected favor of Elizabeth. He was learned, and translated three plays into English with sense and spirit, but in a most uncouth kind of metre, as will appear by the following specimen, taken from his introduction:

“ Oh, thou Megæra!” then I said, “ if might of  
tline it be

“ Wherewith thou Tantal drou’st from hell that  
thus disturbeth mee,

“ Enspire my pen.

‘ This said, I felte the furye’s force enflame me  
more and more;

And ten times more now chaste I was than  
ever was before.

My hair stode up, I waxed wode, my synewes  
all did shake;

And, as the fury had me vext, my teeth began  
to quake,

And thus enflamed,’ &c. &c.

There

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NOTES.

[39] The turn of compliment in the age was certainly singular. Jasper Heywood, in his preface to a vision of Seneca, meaning to pay respect to a promising youth lately deceased, the son of Sir John Mason, says, ‘ He lives with Jove, another Ganymede.’

Cent. XVI.

Thomas  
Nash.

There died in 1600 Thomas Nash, a native\* of Leostoff in Suffolk, and bred at St. John's College, Cambridge. He wrote three or four plays, but his chief performance was 'Piers Penniless,' a sharp satire on the world for its unkind treatment of this irritable bard. His feelings, indeed, seem to have been painfully acute, as may be judged from the subsequent extract, which rivals Spenser's picture of despair.

'Why is't damnation to despair and die,  
When life is my true happiness's disease?  
My soul, my soul! thy safety makes me fly  
The faulty means that might my pains  
appease.

Divines and dying men may *talk* of hell,  
But in my heart her several torments dwell.

Forgive me, God! altho' I curse my birth,  
And ban the air in which I breathe, a wretch;  
Since misery has daunted all my mirth,  
And I am quite undone by promise-breach.  
Oh, friends! *no* friends who *then* ungently  
frown

When changing fortune casts us headlong  
down.'

There are other poets who deserve notice. Grimoald, Kendal, Goulding, Drant, Churchyard, and many more; but, conscious of having already exceeded his due limits, the author quits the subject.

In

In reciting the progress of arts in Great Britain, the excellence of the Welch in poetry ought by no means to be omitted. In that small country verse seems to have been interwoven with both the civil and military system. The bards had possessed a rank not allowed to their romantic race in any other country, if we except Scandinavia and Iceland. They had counselled the princes, led the armies to battle, held the first places at court, and reprimanded the judges, [40] if their conduct gave them displeasure. So high (although so pernicious) a compliment had never been paid to any set of men as Edward I. had bestowed on the poets of Wales, when, by cutting them off, he believed that he had extinguished the whole fire of patriot bravery which had long defended the Welch frontier against every effort of successive Saxon and Norman efforts. The songs and music of their bards, indeed, seem to have rendered the Cambro-Britons, if not invincible, yet insensible of the evils of war; and it is probable that the astonishing exertions of Owen

Cent. XVI.  
Wales.

Poetry  
connected  
with state  
and war  
among the  
Welch.

o 2

Glendwr

# NOTES.

[40] It was in the century before Elizabeth that Davydd ap Edmwn, a celebrated bard, gained additional honor, by composing an elegy on 'Sion Eos,' or 'John the Nightingale,' a brother poet, who had been executed for slaying a man. In this the irritated Briton severely assails the judges in Wales and at Westminster, wishes all the jurymen hanged, and bitterly laments that his friend was not tried by the good laws of Hoel Dha; referring to a large sum which was offered to save the life of the ill-fated Sion.

[JONES'S DISSERTATION.]

**Cent. XVI.** Glendwr were well seconded by the vengeful descendents of Edward's martyrs.

**Declines.** At the period now treated of, the spirit of Welch poetry was on the wane. There was no need of the bard in war, nor even in private feuds, which after great difficulty were now nearly suppressed. The English tongue insensibly crept over the borders, and the poet now found it his interest to repair to the capital, and there exert his talents.

**Scotland.** Poetry was not one of those arts which the clamor of battle frightened away from Scotland. **State of poetry.** The same fertility of fancy, the same variation of imagery, which adorned its Northern votaries in an earlier season, still attended on it. The lyre of the Muse was heard in the palace and in the cottage.

**James V.** James V. the father of Mary, was unquestionably a poet, although there is some doubt \* whether any of the pieces attributed to him are

**Mary.** clearly proved to be his own.† Mary of Scots was not probably enough versed in the language of her native island to make use of it in poetry; but she wrote verses with harmony and sensi-

**James VI.** bility in the French tongue. James VI. her son, was a considerable versifier, and not on the lowest form of his class.

**Sir David Lindesay.** Sir David Lindesay, a courtier, much employed in the household of James V. and afterwards appointed

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\* Antient Scottish Poems, vol. i. Essay, p. ci, Note \*.

† Ibid. p. cxix.



pointed ‘Lion King at Arms,’ has been already <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> celebrated as having exerted his great powers [41] of satire in favor of the reformation, and in ridicule of the absurd superstitions of his country.

In his ‘Dreme,’ after severely scourging the manners of the age, and particularly of the higher circles, he thus paints a fancied court, purified from vice and folly:

‘Justice holds her swerde on hie,  
 With her ballànce of equitie.  
 Dame Prudence has thee by the heid,  
 And Temperance does thy brydill leid.  
 I see dame Force make assistaunce,  
 Beirand thy targe of assuraunce.  
 And lustie ladie Chastitie  
 Has banish’d Sensualitie.  
 Dame Riches takes on thee sike cure,  
 I pray God thāt she long indure;  
 That Povertè dar nocht be sene  
 Into thie hows, for baith her ene;  
 But frā thy grace, fled mony mylis  
 Amangs the hunteris in the ylis.’

Dr.

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#### NOTES.

[41] It were to be wished that the extreme ludicrousness of the sting in each of the four lines did not prevent the historian from inserting here the celebrated sarcasticā counsel of Sir David to his king, on his attachment to the Ladies Sandilands, Weir, and Oliphant.

[DESCRIPTION OF ABERLADIE, APUD SC. ANTIQ.  
 TRANSACTIONS, VOL. I.]

Cent. XVI.

Introdu-  
ces dra-  
matic  
poetry to  
Scotland.

Dr. Mackenzie gives the credit of introducing dramatic poetry into Scotland to Sir David Lindesay. Bishop Douglas, indeed, is said to have written 'Comædiæ Sacræ' long before, but, if he did, they were never acted.\*

Sir Ri-  
chard  
Maitland.

As an apt successor to Lindesay, we are now to speak of Sir Richard Maitland, a worthy and ingenious knight,† born in 1496; who, amidst the troubles of the Scottish court, in which he held a conspicuous post, amused himself with the study of poetry, and endeavored, with well-intended, and not inharmonious lays, to inspire his countrymen with a love of justice and independence on foreign nations.

This patriotic bard detested the English, who certainly were in his days no friends to Scotland. He wrote an ode to congratulate France on the capture of Calais. He therein heartily prays to God that the Scots may take Berwic, 'our marchis for to mend.' And then, with a commendable philanthropy, he wishes that

'The weiris (wars) had an end,

'And we to leif in peas and unitie.'

Soon after he appears to have discovered how very little good either of the contending nations meant to Scotland. It was then that he composed the interesting ballad which follows.

'In

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\* Essay on Antient Sc. Poems, Essay, p. cvi.

† Ibid. p. cxiv.

## I.

‘ In this new zeir, I sie bot weir, \*

Na cause their is to sing.

I cannot sing for the vexation

Of Frenchmen, and the congregation,

That has maid trowbill in the nation,

And mony bair biging. †

In this new zeir, &c. &c.

## II.

I have no will to sing or danse,

For fear of England and of France ;

God send them sorrow and mischance

In cause of their cumming.

In this new zeir, &c. &c.

## III.

We are so rewlit, rich and puire,

That we wot not quhair to be suire, ‡

The bourdour, § as the borrow muir,

Quhair some perchance will hing.

In this new zeir, &c. &c.

## IV.

And zit I think it best that we

Pluck up our hairt and mirrie be ;

For thoch we wod lay doune and dee,

It will us help na thing.

In this new zeir I see but weir,

Na cause their is to sing.’

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\* I see only war.

† Many a roofless building.

‡ On what to depend.

§ The borderer.

Cent. XVI.

Other  
poets.

We find the names of seven other Scottish bards mentioned in the poems of Sir David Lindsay as his contemporaries, viz. Culrose, Kyd, Stewart, Stewart of Lorn, Galbreith, Kinloch, and Ballentine. Little is now known of any among this list, and their works have perished with them. Alexander Scot, \* who flourished about 1550, is styled the Anacreon of the Old Scottish Poetry, and the head of the minor poets. Of his pieces only seven appear to have been published, though several more are known to remain in MS collections.

Alexan-  
der Scot.England.  
Music.Edward  
VI.


An attachment to music seems to have been hereditary in the Tudor family; Henry VIII. was a composer as well as a performer. Edward VI. was spoken of by Cardan as understanding music; besides which, his own journal recites that he played on the lute to Monsieur St. André the French ambassador. The number of his band, and the appointment for its support, were equal to those of any among his predecessors.

Mary I.

That the gloomy bigot Mary understood music we may fairly infer from a letter written to her by her mother Catharine, soon after her separation from Henry; in which, after exhorting her to suffer cheerfully, to trust in God, 'and keep her heart clene, she bids her 'sometimes, for your recreation,

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\* Essay, p. cxii.

recreation, use your virginals [42] and lute, if <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> you have any.' 

Elizabeth was a very considerable performer <sup>Eliza-  
beth.</sup> on the lute and on the virginals; she is also supposed to have played on the violin [43] and on the poliphant, an instrument, says a writer on music, 'not much unlike a lute, but strung with wire.' She loved too to hear loud music, and used <sup>Delights  
in loud  
sounds,</sup> to listen, during her meals, to 'twelve trumpets and two kettle drums, which, together with \*fifes, cornets, and side-drums, made the hall ring for half an hour together.'

Sir James Melvill records a curious anecdote of this princess's skill and coquetry. He had told her that his mistress, queen Mary, 'sometimes recreated herself in playing on the lute and the virginals, and that she played reasonably well for a queen.' That afternoon the Lord Hunsdon introduced

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#### NOTES.

[42] An ill-shaped clumsy box, much inferior to a spinet, in loudness and sweetness; apparently the first known among the tribe of keyed instruments; but, in the 18th century, totally laid aside.

[43] An instrument like a violin, but with a neck so thick, and so loaded with ornaments, that no hand could grasp it, was bought at a sale in London. It had the crest of Elizabeth's favorite Leicester engraved upon it, and was dated 1578. There was a hole in the neck for the thumb to pass through, but the confinement of the hand prevented any possibility of shifting.

\* Hentzner's Itin. Strawb. Hill. edit. p. 57.



Cent. XVI. introduced him to a private gallery that he might hear Elizabeth play on the virginals, although he said that he durst not avow it.

Her excellence in music.

‘ After I had hearkened a while,’ says Melvill, ‘ I put by the tapestry that hung before the door of the chamber and stood a prettie space, hearing her play excellently well. But she left off immediately as soon as she turned her about and saw me. She appeared to be surprized to see me, and came forward, seeming to strike me with her hand ; alleging, she used not to play before men ; but when she was solitary, to shun melancholy.’\*

‘ If,’ says Dr. Burney, ‘ she was ever able to perform any of the pieces preserved in a MS. which goes under the name of ‘ Queen Elizabeth’s Virginal Book,’ she must have been a very great player. Some of them are so difficult, that it would be hardly possibly to find a master in Europe who would undertake to play one of them at the end of a month’s practice.’

Composition difficult but not elegant.

The constant encouragement given by so many successive royal patrons should, one might imagine, have introduced to the art of music, invention, taste, and elegance. On the contrary, nothing, at the period now treated of, seems to have been thought necessary for keyed instruments, but variations on old tunes ; in which all the harmony was crouded which the fingers could grasp, and

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\* Melvill’s Memoirs, p. 105,

and all the rapid divisions of the times which they could execute. Even nominal ‘Fancies’ were without fancy, and confined to the repetition of a few dry and unmeaning notes in figure or imitation. Cent. XVI.

The instrumental music of Elizabeth’s reign seems to partake of the pedantry and foppery of the times; and eternal fugues upon uninteresting subjects were the means of establishing the reputation of a composer.

The royal example was followed by the majority of private families, and a knowledge of music appears to have been, during the latter part of the sixteenth century, an indispensable accomplishment in family life. ‘Being at a banquet,’ says Morley in his “*Plaine and easie Introduction to Practical Music*,” ‘supper being ended, and music books brought to table, the mistress of the house, according to custom, presented me with a part, earnestly intreating me to sing; when, after many excuses, I protested unfeignedly ‘that I could not;’ every one began to wonder, yea, some whispered to others demanding how I was brought up.’ Music a constant domestic amusement.

‘When you come to an inn,’ says Fynes Moryson, ‘you shall be offered musicke, which you may freely take or refuse.’\*

Nor were the lower ranks without their parties of music suited to their inclinations. ‘Small and popular musicks, sung by these “catabanqui” upon

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\* Itinerary, p. iii. p. 3, 150.

Cent. XVI. upon benches and barrel heads; their audience boyes and country fellowes that pass by them in the streets. Blind harpers, and suche taverne minstrells, that gave a fit of mirth for a groate; their matter being for the most part stories of old times, as the tale of Sir Topaz, Bevis of Southampton, Guy of Warwicke, Adam Bell, Climm of the Clough, &c. \*

Musi-  
cians ill  
paid.

The expence of a band was probably reasonable enough. Edward Bassano, a performer of eminence, had little more than thirty pounds + a year, and a salary of forty pounds was thought adequate to the merits of the great Dr. Bull.

Among the musicians who flourished under the latter Tudors, the following deserve most notice :

Dr. Tye.

Dr. Christopher Tye, has already been mentioned as a poet. In that line he ranges with Sternhold and Hopkins; but as a musician he is spoken of by Dr. Burney with respect.

Thomas  
Tallis.

Thomas Tallis was a venerable aged organist; and one of the greatest musicians, not only of this country [44] but of Europe. The most extraordinary of all his labors was a song of forty parts,

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#### NOTES.

[44] When the celebrated Geminiani heard a favorite anthem composed by Tallis which begins thus, 'I call and cry,' he exclaimed, 'The man who made this must have been inspired!'

\* Puttenham's Art of Poesy, p. 69.

† Rym. Fæd. vol. xv. p. 756.

parts, which still exists. This the English histo-  
 rian of music, styles ‘a stupendous, though per-  
 haps Gothic, specimen of human labor and in-  
 tellect.’ Tallis died in 1585, and was interred  
 in the Old Church at Greenwich; which having  
 been demolished in 1720 to be rebuilt, the me-  
 morials of all its dead were confounded in its  
 ruins. Strype had, however, preserved his epi-  
 taph, one stanza of which runs thus:

Cent. XVI.

‘He serv’d long time in chappel with great  
 prayse,

Fower sovereigns reignes, a thinge not often  
 seen;

I mean King Henry and King Edward’s daies,  
 Queene Marie, and Elizabeth our queene.’

On another occasion Dr. Burney humorously  
 remarks, that the martyrdom of Testwood, and  
 the peril of Marbeck, two musicians, little af-  
 fected the fraternity; for that, however the creeds  
 of the monarchs differed, their musicians had  
 constantly tuned their consciences to the court  
 pitch, *i. e.* in perfect unison with their sove-  
 reign, the head of the church.

The names of Bird, Porter, and Bull, will be  
 attended to with more propriety in the next  
 reign.

Thomas Morley, one of the gentlemen of the  
 queen’s chapel, had more merit, as the author of  
 a Treatise on Music mentioned before, than as a  
 performer or a composer, although eminent in  
 both

Thomas  
Morley.

Cent. XVI. both these branches of science. On his work, the intelligent Historian of Music observes, that, although redundant in some particulars, and deficient in others, it is still curious, and justly allowed to have been excellently well adapted to the wants of the age in which it was written.\*

The burial service set by Morley, which is supposed to be the first that was composed after the reformation, still continues to be used in Westminster Abbey on great and solemn occasions. This ingenious and studious musician is supposed to have died nearly at the accession of James I. to the English crown.

Such was the state of music under Elizabeth; nor does it seem to have been contemptible in depth of composition and alacrity of execution, when compared with that of either of the succeeding centuries. Taste in the composer and performer, and excellence of instruments, appear to have been the only deficiencies of the sixteenth age.

Welch  
Music.

Wales claimed a style of music peculiar to itself; and has the singular advantage of still possessing several original melodies of high antiquity. Some of these still convey to the ear, ideas of the manners and conviviality, cultivated by the ancient protectors of those who played on the harp.

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\* Dr. Burney's Hist. of Music, vol. iii. p. 99, 105.



Meetings of the bards, which had maintained the interests both of poetry and music, had been regularly supported until the reign of Elizabeth; at that period they began to droop; and, after a solemn synod or 'Eistedvodd, held from 1568. to 1570, under[45] the auspices of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, it was more than an hundred years before another assemblage of the same kind was convoked.

The harp was the national instrument of the Welsh, but it was an instrument much inferior to that which, at the close of the eighteenth century, is honored by the touch of the fairest hands in Europe. It had, in the days of Elizabeth,\* only one row of strings, consisting of thirty-three; it measured about four feet nine inches, and was made of Sycamore wood. It was necessary to tune it afresh when the key was changed; but, when any accidental sharp or flat was needed in the middle of an air, the performer contrived to form the half-note by stopping the top of the string

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#### NOTES.

[45] Commissioners were appointed to examine, at this meeting, each bard; to grant proper degrees and exclusive privileges to those whose skill merited encouragement; and to oblige the undeserving to betake themselves to some occupation in life, on pain of being accounted and treated as vagabonds.

[EVANS' WELSH POETRY. PENNANT'S TOUR.]

\* Dissertation on Welch musical Instruments by Mr. Jones, p. 103.

Cent. XVI. string with his thumb. The body was highly polished; the strings were made of fine and glossy hair; and the bards speak with affection of their favorite instrument, as of a beloved mistress. Syon Phylip, a poet of the sixteenth century, thus describes his harp:

Imitated from Mr. Jones's prose version of the Welch.

Fair is my harp, high-polish'd to the sight,  
Form'd like a heart, and station'd near my  
breast;

Gorgeous in figure, yet of burthen light;  
How sweet the sounds by each fair string ex-  
prest!

To form this charm divine four things unite:  
Thin wood, skin supple, hair so glossy bright,  
And bone applied with art to keep the fabric  
tight. J. P. A.

On the other hand, the buffoon-physician, Andrew Borde, makes a Welchman say:

' If I have my harpe I care for no more;  
It is my treasure, I keep it in store;  
For my harpe it is made of a good mare's skynne;  
The strynges bee of horse haire, it maketh a  
good dynne:

Mysonge, and myvoice, and myharpe, doth agree,  
Much lyke the buzzyng of an humble bee;  
Yet in my country doe I make pastyme,  
In tellynge of prophecies, whyche bee not in  
rhyme,' &c.

[INTRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE.

Besides

Besides the harp the Welch possessed the <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> 'Crwth,' a kind of violin with six strings, which were played on by a bow; the 'Pibhorn' or hornpipe, a reed pipe tipped with horn at each end; the 'Pibau' or bagpipe; the 'Tabrwd'd,' the tabret or drum; and the 'Corn Buelin,' or bugle-horn. These were seldom heard, as the rational preference obtained by the harp silenced inferior instruments.

The reformation, which raged in Scotland <sup>Scotland.</sup> like a torrent, swept away the cathedral music of the North along with the other gorgeous trap-<sup>The re-</sup> pings of the Roman Catholic faith. Some of <sup>formation</sup> the lighter airs were preserved only as food for <sup>a foe to</sup> ridicule, and were completely burlesqued by be- <sup>Music.</sup> ing adapted to ludicrous words.

\* When the new faith was established, the old church tunes were again brought forward, and were sung in divine worship. A translation of David's Psalms was soon formed to suit them; and the book of psalmody patronized by John Knox, called 'The Common Tunes,' is still sung in the Northern churches.

Not contented with this the ill-judging fanatics (all reformations, religious and civil, produce some fanatics) of the times sought to enlarge the circle of psalmody, by fantastically and

VOL. II.

P

profanely

\* Tytler's Dissertation on Scots Music, in Antiquarian Transactions, vol. i. p. 491.

Cent. XVI. profanely attempting to sanctify licentious ballads, and by intermixing\* holy sentiments with unmodified obscenity. [46]

Prophane  
burlesque. A collection of these, entitled, ‘A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs, collectit out of sundry parts of the Scripture, with sundrie of other ballats changed out of prophaine sanges for the avoiding of sinne and harlotrie,’ is now in being, but extremely scarce; and, were it utterly obliterated, we may presume, from the specimen of it given in Mr. Tytler’s Dissertation, neither religion nor decency would suffer any loss. Music indeed, disgusted at the preposterous treatment it had received, seems for a space to have deserted its once highly-favored Scotland; for a statute, passed in 1579, directing the re-establishment of musical schools, laments that ‘the art of music and singing is lyke to falle into grate decaye.’†

Character  
of Scottish  
music, It is impossible to quit the subject of Scottish music without joining with the very ingenious writer just mentioned, in avowing that the national music of Scotland exhibits strong expressions of the passions, particularly of those which had


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#### NOTES.

[46] The well known tunes of ‘John, come kiss me now,’ ‘Kind Robin lo’es me,’ and ‘John Anderson my Jo,’ are said to be of this number. [TYTLER’S DISSERTATION.

\* Tytler, p. 492, † Stat. 98. Parl. xx. Jac. VI.

had a melancholy turn. Indeed it highly de-  
 serves what was said of it by Tassoni, (the ele-  
 gant writer of 'La Secchia Rapita') 'that it was  
 plaintive and pathetic, and different from all  
 other music.' But this commendation entirely  
 refers to secular compositions. It was the  
 shepherd soothing his solitude by harmony, and  
 celebrating the charms and the constancy of his  
 mistress, or lamenting her cruelty, [47] not the  
 monk raising his orisons to heaven, which  
 stamped the character. The church music was  
 probably like that of England, grand and sono-  
 rous, but generally deficient in taste.

Cent. XVI.  


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### NOTES.

[47] It may amuse the reader to know that the nicely dis-  
 criminating genius of Mr. Tytler has attempted to range the an-  
 cient Scottish ballads according to the dates of their composi-  
 tion. And the following are those which he conjectures were  
 composed during the reigns of James IV. James V. and during  
 the reign and life of Mary: 'Busk ye, busk ye, my bonny  
 Bride;' 'Hero and Leander;' 'Willie's rair and Willie's  
 fair;' 'Cromlet's Lilt;' 'The Flowers of the Forest;' 'Gil-  
 deroy;' 'Balow my Boy;' 'The Gaberlunzie Man;' 'The  
 bonnie Earl of Murray;' 'Leeder Haughs and Yarrow;'  
 'Absence will never alter me;' 'Tak your auld Cloak about  
 ye.'

[TYTLER'S DISSERTATION.]





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# HISTORY

OF

## GREAT BRITAIN.

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### BOOK VII.

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#### CHAP. VI.—PART I.

##### SECTION I.

THE HISTORY OF COMMERCE, COIN, AND SHIPPING,  
IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE ACCESSION OF  
EDWARD VI. A. D. 1547, TO THAT OF JAMES I.  
A. D. 1603.

THE period was now arrived when, the ge-  
neral interests of nations being better un-  
derstood, commerce began to be estimated at  
its due value, and to be guarded and encour-  
aged by treaties as the establishment which  
could best supply wealth for imposts, and mari-  
ners for foreign expeditions.

Cent. XVI.  
Com-  
merce  
begins to  
be valued.

It was not however in a reign like that of Ed-  
ward VI. soured by domestic turbulence, nor  
like that of Mary, when bigotry and rapacious-  
ness by turns guided the state, that any atten-  
tion was likely to be paid where so much was  
due. Yet under the narrow-minded consort of

Cent. XVI. Philip, the adventurous mariner pursued his way to wealth and knowledge totally without encouragement from his needy monarch, but unmolested by her avidity; a fate milder than that of the manufacturer, whose property lay always in her view, and afforded perpetual temptation to the rapacity of despotism.

Elizabeth  
encourages  
com-  
merce.

The close of 1558 introduced a new reign and new encouragements to commercial enterprizes and discoveries. Elizabeth, conscious what addition both to the strength and wealth of the nation must accrue from the extension of her trade, appears to have wished sincerely well to the cause both of commerce and of manufacture; although her private interest, and the incessant persecutions of her avaricious favorites, betrayed her into the fatal measure of granting monopolies, and of creating exclusive companies with exclusive privileges, fatal to the interests of her most industrious subjects.

Plan of  
the chap-  
ter.

To her marine adventurers she was more just, and sometimes, with caution, even liberal. In consequence we find the English commerce, under her auspices, branching itself out with such vigor and variety, that, to prevent confusion, it will be proper to treat of it under different heads, to point out the progress and success of each separate commercial enterprize, according to the date of its commencement, and to touch at the close on the less productive subjects of manufactures, discoveries, and colonies.

The

The Hanse towns, or Easterlings, as they boast <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> the earliest connection with England, demand the <sup>Com-</sup> preference in history. Their traders had long <sup>merce</sup> enjoyed a lucrative station in London. They had <sup>with the</sup> fostered the avidity of the sovereign by advancing <sup>Hanse-</sup> loans of money, and the indolence of the merchant <sup>towns.</sup> and mechanic by finding an immediate vent for his manufactures. As these men paid no more duty than *one* per cent, were buyers and sellers, brokers and carriers, (for none but Hanseatic vessels were employed in the traffic) their profits were vast; so vast indeed, that they tempted foreigners of opulence to reside in a city where yet they knew themselves to be exposed to the constant abuse of an unbridled populace, and to still more decisive injuries, whenever a dearth, a pestilence, or even a severe impost, should sour the minds of the citizens.

The short-lived ministry of Warwick, under <sup>Restrict-</sup> Edward VI. shook off these harsh fetters from the <sup>ed by Ed-</sup> commerce of England. The Hanseatic <sup>ward VI.</sup> privileges were declared to be forfeited, and many reasons were given for the strong and decisive measure of placing an impost of 20 per cent on all their imports and exports. [1] Scarcely had the

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#### NOTES.

[1] Perhaps the most effectual reason for the proceeding remained untold. During the year before this regulation the Easterlings had exported 44,000 pieces of English cloth, and

Cent. XVI. the strangers time to complain of this severity ere the accession of Mary, and her marriage with the son of the German emperor, restored them to their privileges; a measure dictated probably more by caprice than reason, since it appears\* that she revoked her concessions not long after she had granted them.

The Hanseatics disgusted with Elizabeth.

It does not seem that the demise of Mary made any alteration in favor of the foreign merchants. They presented, indeed, repeated remonstrances to the throne; and, finding no redress, withdrew from the English commerce, hoping that necessity would occasion their recal. This weak step only tended to convince the English merchants that they could carry on their own trade without the help of foreigners. They formed companies, built ships, and soon found the sweets of those additional profits which this new independence afforded them.

Endeavour to expel the English cloth from Germany.

Alarmed at these exertions, which menaced destruction to their most profitable branch of trade, the Hanseatics employed all their influence in the diet to prevent the importation of English cloth into

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#### NOTES.

and the English merchants only 1100. Besides, from the port of Southampton only, there had sailed for the Netherlands, sixty ships laden with unmanufactured wool; a commodity of which these engrossers had beat down the price to eighteenpence the stone.

[ANDERSON.]

\* Wheeler's Treatise on Commerce, p. 100.



into Germany; and contrived, by their intrigues, <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> to oblige the subjects of Elizabeth to remove their ‘staple,’ or cloth market, from port to port, until they found a kind reception at Hamburgh;\* from whence, in spite of prohibitions, and every precaution which the enemies of the trade could take, the excellence of the fabric made the English cloth be received on the continent, in greater quantities than ever.

The formation of the ‘Eastland Company’ in 1580, with powers from Elizabeth to trade in the Baltic, and, in 1597, the shutting up of the Steel-yard, long known as the residence of the Easterlings, completed the emancipation of English commerce from the Hanseatic bondage. <sup>Their privileges in England abolished.</sup> Nor could repeated supplications, in 1602 and 1604, obtain a renewal of privileges so noxious to native industry.

The exports from England to the Hanse towns were wool, cloths and fringes, saffron, lead and tin, sheep and rabbit skins, beer, cheese, and Mediterranean wines. <sup>Exports and imports.</sup> While she received from them, jewels, bullion, wrought silks, cloth of gold and silver, spices, drugs, linen, serges, tapestry, madder, hops, glass, salt fish, arms, ammunition, and household-furniture.†

Russia,

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\* Anderson’s Com. Dict. p. 192.

† Luigi Guiccardini’s Description of the Netherlands, passim.

Cent. XVI.

Trade to  
Russia.

Russia, the terror of the continent in the eighteenth century, was in the sixteenth a vast, but hardly civilized state, unconscious of its own power, insulted by the scarcely more savage Tartars, and totally unknown to any Europeans except to a few Flemish traders, who cautiously preserved the secret, and enjoyed in silence the sweets of an exclusive commerce.

Enter-  
prize and  
fate of  
Sir Hugh  
Wil-  
loughby.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, one of the few adventurous mariners of the sixth Edward's reign, animated by a liberal subscription of 6000*l.* supplied by forty-nine sharers, sailed from Gravesend, in May 1553, with three small vessels, in search of a short passage to China (then termed 'Cathay') by the North East. The gallant knight, after discovering the isle of Spitzbergen (or Greenland) met with such distress from storms and floating mountains of ice, that, forced into the cruel latitude of seventy-two North, he found himself, with two of his ships, obliged to pass the winter on the snowy coast of Nova Zembla; where, in a cre ek among the rocks, the ill-fated commander, with the seamen of both ships, were found by the wandering Laplanders frozen to death. [2] \*

Captain

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NOTES.

[2] '*Nocumenta*,' says the quaint Dr. Fuller, 'prove *documenta*, and the shipwrecks of some, prove the sea marks of others.'

[WORTHIES OF DEVONSHIRE.

The

\* Adams' Account, apud Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 243.

Captain Richard Chancellor, who commanded <sup>Cent.XVI.</sup> the third vessel, had better fortune. Providence <sup>Port of</sup> steered his bark to the harbor where Archangel <sup>Arch-angel dis-</sup> has since been built. The monks at the abbey <sup>covered.</sup> of St. Nicholas, which stood near the coast, shewed hospitality and even respect to their famished guests; and aided the resolute Englishman to pass on sledges the snowy deserts which lay between them and Moscow. As he was provided with general letters from Edward VI. to any princes whom he might visit, he advanced with intrepidity to the palace; and presented them to the sovereign of Russia.\*

John Basilowitz, who then reigned in Russia, although a fierce and barbarous despot, had yet strong and clear reason, and saw in the bold adventurer the character of his nation. He eagerly sprung forward to meet the advances of the English, who, he foresaw, would introduce his country to the wished-for commerce of Europe: and he sent back Chancellor loaded with honors and presents. Nor did he forget to return letters to King Edward, who was unhappily dead before they could reach him.†

The

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NOTES.

The remains of this intrepid mariner were found in his cabin; and near him his diary, which he had continued almost to the hour of his death.

[ADAMS' ACCOUNT, APUD HAKLUYT.

\* Stowe's Annals, p. 629. Holingshed, p. 1132.

† Hakluyt, ubi supra.

Cent. XVI.

Commer-  
cial treaty  
with  
Russia.

The prospect of an exclusive trade with a great nation, abounding in furs and other desirable subjects of commerce, soon allured the enterprising and the wealthy; and a charter was granted in 1554 to a company of merchant-adventurers for 'the discoverie of lands, countries,' &c. &c. This was the parent of the Russia company. Soon after it was formed, two ships were dispatched, with the enterprising Chancellor as their commissioner, to the new found port. Again he landed, crossed Lapland, found the Czar at Moscow, and was amply compensated for the fatigues of his way by the advantageous privileges which he obtained for his principals. The close of the story is painful: the gallant seaman set sail for England with a Russian nobleman as ambassador, and bales of rich presents for his sovereign, under his care. On the coast of Scotland, a violent gale drove his vessel on a reef of rocks: careless of his own safety, Chancellor only thought of his important charge; and actually perished in the waves in the act of preserving the life of the Russian, who was received on shore [3] with that hospitality

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NOTES.

[3] We will rather trust to Holingshed, who at least intimates (p. 1132) his kind reception in the North, than to the sour and prejudiced borderer Lord Wharton; who, in a letter preserved in 'Mr. Lodge's Illustrations' writes, 'he may thanke God that he escaped from their (the Scots) crewel covetouse wyth his lief.

pitality which has always distinguished the Scottish character, and forwarded to London with proper respect to his dignity. Cent. XVI.

The intercourse between the nations was now kept up with attention ; and Anthony Jenkinson, the active agent of the new company, had, after frequent voyages to Russia, found means to penetrate through Moscow to the Wolga, down that vast river to the Caspian Sea; and thence to Persia ; the English had even sent goods to the port of Narva, in the Baltic Sea ; when the company, now become of importance to the nation,\* asked and obtained a confirmation of their exclusive privileges by act of parliament. This statute, dated in 1566, permitted York, Newcastle, Hull, and Boston to join in the undertaking if the inhabitants should desire that privilege.

The adventurers were not fortunate in their early years. The ever ill-fated project of an inland trade with Persia, led them into deep expences ; and a rich cargo of silks, spices, and pearls, the produce of five laborious years travel, was intercepted on the Wolga, and plundered by the pirate cossacks.† Soon after, the English were involved in the national calamities of Russia ; they lost all their stores when the country was ravaged and Moscow burnt by the invading Tartars ; and for these damages, although an indemnity was repeatedly

Trade to  
Persia  
unfortunate.

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\* Hakluyt, first edit. p. 365.

Camden's Annals, A. D. 1565.



Cent. XVI.

peatedly promised, little was received. The English even gradually lost their exclusive privileges; and Horsey, an agent who was sent by the Russia company to strive for their recovery, had the mortification to find his vessel saluted in the harbor of Archangel (as it was now styled) by French and Flemish vessels, as well as by those of England. The eyes of the Russian prince were indeed now open to the advantages of receiving the ships of rival nations; and the English were, from that period, obliged to be contented with little more advantage over the traders of other countries than what the goodness of their wares, and the superior industry of their workmen could give them.

Exports  
and im-  
ports.

The imports from Russia were chiefly hides, furs, &c. &c. The exports thither from England were cloths; and, what is remarkable, coarse linen, which is in the eighteenth century brought in great quantities from Russia, made, in the sixteenth, a large part of the exports thither.

Trade  
with  
Turkey.

The first genuine account of any intercourse between England and the dominions of the Ottomans, occurs in 1553, when Anthony Jenkinson is reported by Hakluyt to have obtained of Sultan Selim, then at Aleppo on his march against Persia, a licence to trade at any Turkish port on the same terms, as to customs, with the French and Venetians.\*

It

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\* Hakluyt, vol. ii.

It was not, however, until 1575, that a regular commercial treaty was established with the Porte ; and that, in consequence, a company was formed by charter to trade thither. Its term was only to last seven years (renewable, if required) and it might be dissolved by one year's notice.

Cent. XVI

A company formed.

The agents sailed to Constantinople in 1582, carrying with them excellent instructions from the indefatigable patriot Hakluyt,\* as to the lights which might be obtained in the East for the benefit of English manufactures, gardens, and woods. This patent, we are to observe, was not renewed until 1593, and then only for twelve years.

The consequences of the direct trade to Turkey soon appeared to be highly beneficial to England. The Venetians and Genoese, who had hitherto monopolized both the sale of Indian goods and the carrying trade, gradually were dispossessed of both by the ships of England. To complete the settlement of factories in the Syrian ports, &c. Harebone, a man of activity, was sent in a frigate of thirty-four guns ; he visited the whole African and Asiatic coast which bordered the Mediterranean ; and concluded an advantageous treaty with the piratical states of Barbary.

Advantages to England.

From this time to the close of Elizabeth's reign, the Levant trade proceeded with great advantage

to

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\* Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 164.

**Cent.XVI.** to the merchants and to the nation; not, how-  
**Expences** ever; without heavy complaints of the vast pre-  
**large.** sents (to the amount of £000l.) given annually to the piratical states to avoid a perpetual warfare with their corsairs.\*

**Exports** Woollen cloths and calf-skins were the chief  
**and im-** exports from England to Turkey. The imports  
**ports.** were ‘silks, camblets, rhubarb, rich wines from Cyprus, oil, cotton, carpets, galls, and spices.’ To Barbary, cloth and linen were sent, and the returns were sugar, dates, almonds, and melasses.

**Trade to** Some attempts had been made, during the reign  
**Africa.** of Mary, to open a trade with Guinea, but the first adventurers only brought home one ship out of three. And although some cargoes, both of gold dust and of elephants teeth, were carefully brought to England in succeeding years, yet no steady and dependable branch of commerce appeared for a long space of time.

**Negro** At length the negro trade, that much repro-  
**trade.** bated source of wealth and of contention, was opened in 1562 by Captain John Hawkins of Devonshire; who, assisted by a liberal subscrip- tion, fitted out three ships, and sailed to the coast of Guinea, whence he carried 300 negro slaves (acquired by methods not to be too closely scrutinised) to Hispaniola.† He exchanged his lading there

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\* Captain Carlisle’s Treatise on Trade, *passim*.

† Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 500.

there for hides, sugar, ginger, and pearls, and re-  
turned in opulence A. D. 1563. No more is heard  
of this species of traffic during several years.

Cent. XVI.  
Voyages  
to Benin.

A ship and pinnace of London made a prosperous voyage to Benin, in Africa, in 1588; and the queen, in the same year, granted a patent to certain merchants of London and of Exeter, for ten years, to trade exclusively to the rivers Senegal and Gambia.

In 1590 we find the same ship and pinnace sailing again from London to Benin, and again returning with success.

The exports to Africa were at that time linen and woollen cloths, hard ware, ornaments, such as copper bracelets and glass beads, hawks-bells, hats, toys, &c. The imports, elephants teeth, palm oil, cloth of cotton, and of the bark of trees.\*

Exports  
and im-  
ports.

The trade to the East-Indies was, from the vast distance of its object, and the great capital which was required to carry it on, the last of those various commercial shoots which sprung from the fertile soil of the adventurous industry of England. It was not until 1600 that a company was regularly formed, with George Earl of Cumberland at their head, and 215 knights, aldermen, and merchants, in the list of proprietors. They had been encouraged to this undertaking rather by

Trade to  
the East-  
Indies.

A com-  
pany  
formed in  
1600.

the

\* Anderson, vol. ii. p. 175.

Cent. XVI. the successes of the Portuguese and of the Dutch, than of their countrymen ; since the only English voyage hitherto attempted to those parts, and executed by Captain James Lancaster, had been singularly unfortunate. [4]

Its rules. This charter,\* which was renewable at the end of fifteen years, and which actually existed through various vicissitudes until 1708, when it sank into that of the ‘ United Company of Merchants trading to the East-Indies,’ was much on the plan of that which was renewed towards the close of the 18th century. The governor and deputy-governor, the twenty-four directors, annually elected and formed into committees, the allowance of time for the payment of customs, the re-exportation of Indian merchandise after it has paid

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#### NOTES.

[4] He had sailed in 1591 with three ships on a privateering, rather than a mercantile account, to the East-Indies. A sickness, which assailed his crew near the Cape of Good Hope, obliged one ship to return homewards; another, with Captain Raymond; or Riman, was separated in a storm beyond the Cape, and heard of no more. Lancaster’s ship alone reached the coast of Malabar. Nothing succeeding which he attempted in the East, he quitted those shores, and sailed to the West-Indies; but thither his ill-fortune pursued him. Going on shore with a party to search for provisions on an unknown island, those on board basely abandoned him, and left him, and most of their comrades, exposed to hunger and wretchedness. Three years elapsed before the unfortunate captain, with a few of his men, whom famine had spared, could find their way back to England.

[HAKLUYT.]

\* Rym. Fœd. vol. xv.



paid the duty, and almost all the other conditions of the charter, have been handed down, ‘litera-  
tim & verbatim,’ from the adventurous merchants of Elizabeth’s school to their fortunate and opulent successors.

Cent. XVI.

The first stock of a company doomed in future time to govern a country more extended, better peopled, and possessed of more and richer commodities and treasures than the Roman empire at its greatest pitch of splendor, was only 72,000*l*. And their first fleet consisted of four large ships, under the conduct of the same Captain Lancaster, whose disasters in the East had been repaired by a fortunate and lucrative expedition to the coast of Brasil.

Its moderate stock.

Neither the success of this expedition, nor the valuable though small addition to his country’s dominions, atchieved by Lancaster on his return from the Indies, fall within the compass of this volume. Elizabeth, the inspirer and encourager of every adventure, had paid the last debt to nature before either vessel (for they returned separately) reached her coasts.

Every transaction of importance to the commerce of England, during a period so interesting to its rise and progress, has now been cautiously traced. Other negotiations of the same date there are, but they have little or no reference to the subject. The ministers of Edward VI. in the same

Treaties.

Cent. XVI. treaty which sold Boulogne to France, stipulated for a mutual intercourse of trade. But this treaty was short-lived, and does not seem to have been renewed in its commercial tendency, when a new one was brought forward in 1559. Disputes on the African coast occasioned a treaty with Portugal. Duties which Elizabeth thought unreasonable were sometimes the cause of transient agreements with Denmark; and the only treaties not hitherto mentioned, those with Holland, related to mutual defence, and not in the least to matters of commerce or trade.

Manufac-  
tures.

The short and unsettled reigns of Edward VI. and Mary I. produced [5] not that confidence in government which could tempt the opulent to supply manufactures with the necessary funds. Mary was indeed led by her love for an undeserving husband to treat her mercantile subjects with bitter injustice. She would ask unreasonable loans, and would revenge the denial by stopping exportation,

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#### NOTES.

[5] One act of Mary's sterile administration deserves to be excepted from the censure which, in general, it merits. She abolished that part of the code of laws relative to the woollen trade, which prevented any person from making cloth, unless after having served full seven years at the business. It appears strange to read that her liberal-minded successor should have renewed a prohibition which is generally accounted impolitic by the adepts in the trade. It still remains in force.

exportation, and even by seizing the cloth which had been sold to foreigners. Once she raised 50,000*l.* by an extortion of this kind. The loss of Calais, whence much cloth was exported into Flanders, hurt the woollen manufacture. Cent. XVI.

The activity with which the government of Elizabeth was inspired, seems to have transfused itself into the breasts of every rank among her people. We observe those who had superior powers distinguishing themselves by voyages of discovery, by forming new commercial connections, and by endeavouring to plant colonies in distant climes. While those whose abilities took a mechanical turn, enriched their country and themselves by enlarging [6] the circle of its manufactures.

That of knives,\* now so widely extended, appears to have commenced in London A. D. 1563, under the auspices of one Thomas Matthews of Fleet-bridge; this, however, was rather a revival than

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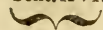
#### NOTES.

[6] Before the sixteenth century ends, we find that luxury had obtained a firm footing in the house of the mechanic. ‘We were shown,’ says a traveller, ‘at the house of Leonard Smith, a taylor, a most perfect looking-glass, ornamented with gold, pearls, silver, and velvet, so richly as to be estimated at 500 *ecus de soleil*.’

[PAUL HENTZNER.]

Add to this the evidence of Fynes Moryson, who observes that, towards the close of Elizabeth’s reign, there were few among the better sort of the English gentry and *traders* that had not cupboards of silver plate to the value of 200*l.*

\* Present State of Great Britain, 1683, p. 77.

Cent. XVI.  than a new manufacture, since, in the days of Chaucer, Sheffield was, as it still continues to be, famous for its cutlery. ‘A Sheffield whittle bare he in his hose.’ \*

Needles. That of † needles [7] was commenced in 1566, and directed by Elias Grouse, a German.

Woollen caps. Felt hats were not made in England in 1571, as a statute was then enacted which ordered an English woollen cap to be worn in preference by every person above the age of seven, on pain of forfeiting 3s. 4d. Ladies, lords, gentlewomen, &c. are

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### NOTES.

[7] Needles had appeared in Cheapside during the reign of Mary. A Spanish negro had made them, but as he refused to discover his art, the nation received little benefit from him. The pin had been known in England ever since the close of Henry VIII.’s reign; where it had afforded to the ladies a pleasant substitute for ribbons, loopholes, laces with points and tags, clasps, hooks and eyes, and skewers made of wood, brass, silver, and gold. This minute implement was thought sufficiently important to merit parliamentary regulation. Accordingly, by ‘stat. 37 Hen. VIII. cap. 13, all ‘pinnes’ are prohibited from being sold, unless they be ‘double-headed, and have the heads soldered fast to the shank of the pinne, well smoothed, the shank well shaven, the point well and round filed, cauted, and sharpened.’ This long process, which must have rendered the pin expensive, was dropped in about three years, and the pin became what it now is. [STOWE, &c.

\* Chaucer’s Works. Reves Tale.

† Stowe’s Chron. an. 1566.

are excepted.\* This restriction, we are told, had Cent. XVI.  
very little effect.

The manufacture of glass had been probably Glass.  
brought to some perfection in London in 1575 ;  
for Holingshed, after he has spoken of the de-  
struction of a glass-house by fire, adds, ‘ the same  
house which had consumed great quantities of  
wood in making fine drinking glasses, is now  
itself consumed,’ &c. &c. †

A loom for the weaving of silk stockings was Silk  
erected in 1600, under the patronage of William stockings.  
Lee of St. John’s College, Cambridge. ‡

But nothing aided the progress of manufacture Flemish  
in England so much as her just and prudent at- emi-  
tention to the persecuted strangers whom the bi- grants  
gotry of Spain expelled from their habitations. enrich  
England.  
Some families had, in the days of Edward VI.  
quitted their homes, and followed their teachers  
to the English coast. These had already erected  
their looms, when the accession of Mary obliged  
them to pursue liberty of religious worship, to a  
colder climate.

With Elizabeth more liberality of sentiment  
came forward, and some of the exiled strangers  
returned. But it was to the wheels and gibbets  
of the Duke D’Alva that England is most indebt-  
ed.

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\* Stat. 13 Eliz. cap. 19.

† Chron. of England. p. 1261.

‡ Howel’s Hist. of the World, vol. ii. p. 222.



Cent. XVI.

ed. Scared by his inhumanity, the Flemish manufacturers fled thither in shoals, and were received with humanity and hospitality. They repaid this politic kindness by peopling the decayed streets of Canterbury, Norwich, Sandwich, Colchester, Maidstone, Southampton, and many other towns, with active and industrious weavers, dyers, cloth-dressers, linen-makers, silk throwsters, &c. They taught the making of bays, says, and other stuffs;\* and many of their posterity now enjoy large estates and respectable titles in the counties which, with so much good sense, opened their arms to shield them from their pursuers. It was from this period that England may begin to date that superiority in the works of art which has rendered her in the eighteenth century the market of Europe; and even extended the sale of her manufactures to the savage shores of Kamschatka. †

Fisheries  
protected.

In a country intersected by numerous harbours, surrounded by a prolific ocean, and situated near large shoals abounding with cod, herrings, &c. it would have been unpardonable in the rulers to neglect that which would, at the same time, afford food for the natives, a desirable article of commerce to strangers, and the means of preserving a naval superiority over the rest of the world.

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\* Meterani *Historia Belgica*, tom. iii.

† Cook's last Voyage, vol. iii. p. 201.

Neither the administration of England or Scotland were blameable in this branch of their duty. Cent. XVI.  
 In the former, we find not less than twelve statutes passed during the reign of Elizabeth, all tending to the encouragement of the fisheries on the English coast; and the fishermen appear to have been the only people of their rank who were, by an express act of parliament,\* exempted from the press, unless when pointed out by their county magistrates.

It should not pass unobserved that, in 1553, Philip of Spain obtained a licence for his subjects to fish on the North coast of Ireland during twenty-one years, on consideration of one thousand pounds yearly; 'which sum,' writes Sir J. Burroughs, 'was accordingly brought into the Exchequer of Ireland.'† Tribute from Spain.

The importance of the Newfoundland fishery began to be known to the European states about the middle of Elizabeth's reign. Hakluyt mentions the number of ships sent by each nation in 1578. The English had but 15 ships on the banks, but they were stout and large, and gave law to the 100 Spanish, 50 Portuguese, and 150 French vessels which attended the fishery. They protected the whole fleet from pirates, and levied a tax in salt on each foreign bark for their good services. Fishery at Newfoundland.

No

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\* Stat. Eliz. 5. cap. 5, fo. 43.

† Treatise on the Sovereignty of the British Seas, p. 80.

Cent. XVI.

Whale-  
fishery  
scarcely  
known  
to the  
English.

No progress, nay, scarcely a beginning, was made in the whale-fishery under Elizabeth. That the English had little knowledge of the methods used in carrying it on, appears plainly from a paper in Hakluyt's Collection, dated 1575; wherein it is expressly directed, that the whole care of the enterprise should be entrusted to Biscayners, as the only persons who understood the business.\* Some whales were killed by these enterprizing Spaniards on the Newfoundland banks in 1578; but only for their blubber, as the value of whalebone was then unknown.

Scotland.

Great at-  
tention  
paid to  
the fisher-  
ies.

In Scotland great and unremitted attention was paid to every kind of fishery; and the kinds were various. The white fish, which included cod, ling, and herring; the red fish or salmon, and the black fish, which seems to have been a kind of trout, were each protected by many and repeated statutes. Some containing very particular rules for the salting † and packing of the fish; some enjoining all manner of obstructions to be removed which might prevent the free egress and regress of the salmon; and some to prevent the exportation of salt. It was also with a view of enlarging the fisheries, as well as civilizing the inhabitants, that an act passed in 1597 for the building of three borough-towns ‡ in Kintire,

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\* Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 413, 414.

† Stat. 141, Parl. 8 Jac. VI.

‡ Stat. 267, Parl. 15 Jac. VI.

tire, in Lochaber, and in the Isle of Lewis. Yet, Cent. XVI.  
 though such attention was paid to the acquisition of a commodity which constituted the most valuable of the Scottish exports, a due care was taken that the people of the country should be served before foreigners. On this account, and on that of preserving to the king his customs, a statute,\* in 1578, orders all white fish to be brought to certain free ports in Scotland, and not to be sold without examination by the proper officers.

As the making of salt in the best manner was of the utmost consequence to the existence and success of the fisheries, the improvement of it Salt improved. was by no means neglected. Accordingly, in 1563, it was announced by parliament,† that ‘certaine strangers of excellent ingine’ had brought a new and improved method of making salt into Scotland; and that, during fifty years, these persons might make such salt exclusively. It does not however appear that any great advantages attended on this invention.

Salt was so scarce and dear in 1573, that its exportation was prohibited ‡ during three years ‘at least.’

To conclude this subject, too much praise can Strictness scarcely be given to the great attention paid by as to measure of the the casks.

\* Stat. 60, Parl. 5 Jac. VI.

† Stat. 71, Parl. 9 Qu. Marie.

‡ Stat. 56, Parl. 4 Jac. VI.

Cent. XVI. the legislature of Scotland, to the just and proper size of the barrels in which the salted fish were to be exported. Many statutes are to be found on this subject in the Scottish code; particularly an effective one \* in the same year as that last-mentioned.

England. Although those English mariners who attempted to discover new lands, and supposed Discoveries of countries. straights, under the auspices of Elizabeth, were uniformly unsuccessful, they owed their ill fortune neither to want of spirit or perseverance.

The earnest wishes of the merchants prompted them to believe that there must be a nearer way to Japan, China, and the East Indies, than the long and extraneous course round the Cape of Good Hope. It was to the North-west that it was fancied this passage lay; and several of the first mariners of the age, Sir Humphry Gilbert, Vain trials for a N.W. passage to India. the Captains Frobisher, Pet, and Jackson, with many others, attempted it in vain.

And for one by the N.E. Another passage to the same countries, less plausible, but much shorter, had its supporters. It was supposed to lie on the North coast of Nova Zembla, and to reach China in a North-eastern direction. The unfortunate Sir Hugh Willoughby had, in 1553, lost his life in searching for this passage; but the most Northern port of Russia had been discovered by his mishap.

Some

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\* Stat. 57, Parl. 4 Jac. VI.



Some other attempts were made on the same Cent. XVI.  
 coast, particularly one by Captain Stephen Bur-  
 roughs,\* but without even a prospect of success;  
 since the vast fields of ice which occupied the  
 Northern sea, effectually barred the passage.

The experience of two ages, which have passed  
 since these unsuccessful enterprizes, has proved  
 that no such passage exists to the North-west;  
 and, that that to the North-east, though existing,  
 is totally blocked up with ice.

These enterprizes were not totally fruitless.  
 In 1567, Captain Frobisher, in his pursuit of the  
 North-west passage, fell in with the straights  
 which lead to Hudson's Bay, and discovered the  
 Western coast of Greenland.† Thence he  
 brought a savage, and ten years afterwards a Green-  
land, &c.  
discover-  
ed.  
 load of shining ores, whence it was generally  
 supposed gold would be produced. Unfortu-  
 nately, on a trial being made, the ores proved to  
 be utterly worthless;‡ while the poor savage, un-  
 conscious of the advantage of civilization, pined  
 away through regret for his native snows. [8]

New

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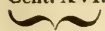
#### NOTES.

[8] There have been doubts formed concerning the abilities  
 of those to whom the examination of these promising ores were  
 submitted; and a story is told of a quantity which chanced to  
 be left untried; and which, many years afterwards, in the  
 hands of a skilful chymist, produced pure gold.

[CAMPBELL'S LIFE OF FROBISHER.]

\* Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 282.      † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 26, 96.

‡ Stowe's Annals, p. 680, 681, 682.

Cent. XVI.  New Albion, or, as it is now called, California,   
 And New Albion. was discovered in 1579 by Sir Francis Drake, while he was endeavouring to find a passage back from the South-west coast of North America into the European seas. He took formal possession of the country, which appeared to be an island, and erected a column to the honor of his queen.

Passage to America shortened. A discovery of great use to mariners was made in 1602 by Captain Gosnold, an expert English seaman. He first found the way of crossing the Atlantic to North America without deviating to the West Indies, and passing the dangerous Gulph of Florida.\*

Colonies attempted in America. The season for planting colonies with success was not yet arrived. A very able treatise had indeed been written on the subject, in 1582, by Captain Carlisle, the son-in-law of Sir Francis Walsingham. He had enlarged on the great advantages which colonies might bring to the mother country with art and spirit, the consumption of manufactures, employment for idle persons, &c. &c. To prove his faith in his own reasoning, Carlisle joined heartily with Sir Walter Raleigh † and others, in raising a fund which might enable a number of settlers to occupy lands in America; and Elizabeth readily granted a charter for so patriotic an undertaking. A voyage undertaken at this juncture by the Cap-  
tains

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\* Anderson, vol. ii. p. 211.

† Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 208.

tains Amidas and Barlow, (who successfully <sup>Cent.XVI.</sup> traded with the American natives, and brought home pearls and the new luxury of tobacco) strengthened the interest of the promising design. Accordingly the celebrated Sir Richard Grenville, in 1584, sailed for the American coast, and settled a colony in a district which the maiden queen had honored by the name of Virginia. Her auspices, however, availed little. Famine and discord assailed the new settlers as soon as Grenville had left them; and the very small residue returned to England in 1585, entirely cured of all wishes for emigration.\* This plan and those of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, for the settling Florida and Newfoundland, [9] which proved equally abortive, completed the Abortive history

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NOTES.

[9] The enterprising knight, having obtained a patent, had sailed to Newfoundland, and formally taken possession of the island; he had even discovered, as he believed, a rich silver mine. He quitted the coast to fetch settlers from England, but was unhappily lost in his passage. It was the romantic turn of this gallant officer's character which hastened his end. He had fought in Ireland with great applause, and could not bear the whisper which he believed to be circulated, 'that he was fearful at sea.' To shew his firmness, he would sail, in spite of his friends' intreaties, in his smallest ship; and sunk beneath the tempestuous waves, calmly repeating to his men, 'Courage, my lads! we are as near to heaven by sea as by land!'

[WORTHIES OF DEVON. HAYES, APUD HAKLUYT.

\* Hist. of Virginia, apud British America, vol. i.

Cent. XVI. history of colonization during the days of Elizabeth.

Scotland. The commerce of Scotland was not inconsiderable in 1544. Lord Herbert speaks of the harbor of Leith as containing more riches 'than could have been easily imagined.'\* And Drake relates, that not long after this, the English took twenty-four Scottish ships, fraught with rich merchandize, as they returned from France, Flanders, Denmark, and other countries.†

Scottish commerce with Antwerp. In the description of the Netherlands, by Luigi Guiccardini, Antwerp, it is said, 'has no great commerce with Scotland, as England and France chiefly supply her wants; yet Antwerp exports thither some spicery, sugar, madder, wrought silks, camblet, serges, linen, and mercery. In return, Scotland sends to Antwerp vast quantities of peltry of many kinds; leather, wool, and indifferent cloth; fine large pearls, though not equal to those from the East.'

And Bourdeaux. Stephen Perlet asserts that the Scots traded with Bourdeaux and Rochelle for wine, and carried merchandize from their own country, and not money in return.‡ This is confirmed by an English traveller in the reign of Elizabeth, who says that the Eastern Scots exported to France (probably from Glasgow, &c.) coarse clothes,

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\* Antiqu. Repertory, vol. i. p. 237.

† Life of Henry VIII. p. 508.

‡ Drake's *Historia Anglo Scotica*, p. 351.

clothes, linen and woollen; wool, goat-skins, &c. Cent. XVI.  
and brought back from thence wines and salt.\*

Acts, to prevent the import or export of mer- Laws  
chandize without paying the proper duty, are re- against  
peatedly inserted in the Northern code. But in ge- contra-  
neral the prohibition seems chiefly levelled at such band tra-  
who either took wool or hides, unmanufactured, ders.  
out of the realm. Coals, candles, and linen cloth,  
are sometimes, with less good policy, included.

In 1581 the Western coast of Scotland seems to have been infested with contraband traders; as an act of that year prohibited all trading, except at appointed harbours, on pain of confiscation of ship and cargo. †

The chief commercial intercourse between Scot- Regula-  
land and the continent was still carried on through tion of  
the medium of Campveere, a town in the United trade  
Provinces; and regulated by a conservator, who with the  
had great powers allotted to him for that pur- Nether-  
pose. No less than six statutes were framed in lands.  
1597, for the proper conduct of the trade, the oath to be taken by the traders, the duties to be levied, and the obedience and attention due to the conservator. ‡ The Scots exported little else than wool, hides, salmon and other salted fish in barrels, and a small quantity of coal; for, so ill were  
the

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\* Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, p. 155.

† Stat. 120, Parl. 7 Jac. VI.

‡ Stat. 259, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64. Parl. 15 Jac. VI.



Cent. XVI. the principles of mechanism understood, that to drain the water from the mines was thought impracticable; [10] and the government seems to have been under perpetual terror lest the coal should fail or become unattainable by the nation. On this account the exportation was always discouraged, and in 1597 entirely prohibited.

Imports. The articles of importation from the Netherlands were innumerable: iron, lead, haberdasher's ware, furniture, were among them; even wooden dishes and cart-wheels. The purchase of spears and other military instruments was enjoined by government.

The lights which fall on the state of Scottish manufactures in the sixteenth century are very faint.

Manufac- A paper in the 'Transactions of the Scottish  
tures  
little spo- Antiquarian Society,' recounts the rise of the  
ken of. Edinburgh corporations of 'Hammermen,' as  
happening in 1582. Particular circumstances are  
added as to the gradual accession of various  
branches of the trade, such as the 'Dalmascars,'  
or ornamenters of sword blades, in the same year;  
the Gaird-makers in 1583, &c. Each subdivision,  
when it joined the general body, produced an  
essay

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#### NOTES.

[10] The first engine for drawing water from mines in Scotland was invented by a predecessor of the Earls of Balcarras; and was secured to him by a patent from James VI. during twenty-one years.

[ARNOT.]

essay of its art; and, from the account given in the paper above-mentioned, their performances of various kinds appear to have been ingenious and well-finished; but no more is known, and the historian's best guides, the acts of parliament, are entirely silent as to any protection or encouragement to manufacturers. What few acts there are which affect any trades, are rather of a hostile sort. An exclusive privilege to salt-makers, another to a silk-maker; \* a statute 'in favor of Goldsmiths,' has only its title printed;† but one in 1592, which forbids all 'craft' to be exercised in the suburbs of any burrow whatever,‡ must have been fatal to manufacturers, who generally chuse the suburbs for their residence; or, more probably, proved that there were but few to annoy. It has been, indeed, already said that, except salted fish, Scotland exported only the raw materials of trade, wool, hides, &c. Of consequence it is not probable that she had any flourishing manufactures.

Cent. XVI.

No statutes for their encouragement.

In 1555 the first general statute for mending the highways of the kingdom is to be found; surveyors are thereby ordered to be appointed, and labour to be done, as in the eighteenth century.

England. Inventions and improvements.

Insurance of merchandize at sea, by a joint contribution of opulent traders, is first mentioned

Highways mended.

by

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\* Stat. 25, Parl. 7 Jac. VI.

† Stat. 59, Parl. 11 Jac. VI.

‡ Stat. 156, Parl. 12 Jac. VI.

Cent. XVI. by [11] ‘Luigi Guiccardini,’ who published in Insurance 1560 ‘A Description of the Netherlands.’ This of ships salutary institution did not reach London until and goods. the close of the sixteenth century, when it soon acquired such importance as to demand the aid of a statute \* towards its regulation.

Italian The Italian method of book-keeping was book-keeping. taught in England by James Peele, A. D. 1569. His work, printed in the black-letter, is still extant; and its instructions, although verbose, are practicable. The preface speaks of the art as new in England, but as having been long used by foreign merchants; and affirms that many merchants of London took instructions from him, and sent their apprentices to be taught.

London In 1582 a supply of water was brought by supplied with Peter Morris, a freeman of London, to the water. highest part of the city. He laid pipes over the tower of St. Magnus.

New In the same year the currant bush from Zante, fruits and and the tulip from Vienna, were introduced to the flowers soil and climate of England. The tulip had ntro- been known at Vienna but a little while. It came duced. thither from Constantinople.

In

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NOTES.

[11] Yet we are told that all the policies of insurance made at Antwerp have a clause inserted to declare that their conditions, in case of dispute, shall be governed by the regulations usual in ‘Lombard-street, London.’

[MALYNES’ LEX MERCATORIA.

\* Eliz. 43, cap. 12.

In 1588 'the Chest at Chatham' was established, which, by means of a small deduction from the pay of every seaman, provides an annual allowance for such as may chance to be wounded. Cent. XVI.  
Chest at  
Chatham.

No attempt to place the important article of 'weights and measures' on an equal footing throughout the realm, appears. Strict regulations took place by statute, respecting the standard weight of goldsmith's work,\* the measurement of leather, † the weight and measure of honey, ‡ and a very few other things; but no general reformation was attempted. Weights  
and  
measures.

There appears no considerable regulation in Scotland. Scotland concerning 'weights and measures' during the latter part of the sixteenth age, unless in the article of fish. But, probably, this might be rendered less necessary, as much attention had been paid to this subject by James the Fourth in an early part of the century. §

Until the reign of Elizabeth, few merchant-ships of considerable bulk were built in England; and those adventurers who wished to use large vessels, bought them of the Hanse-town shipwrights. Thus we find Captain Hawkins sailing to America in the 'Jesus of Lubeck,' the only large England.  
Ships.


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\* 19 Eliz. cap. 15.

† 1 Eliz. cap. 9.

‡ 23 Eliz. cap. 8.

§ Stat. 96, Parl. 6 Jac. IV,

Cent. XVI.  large ship of his squadron. And, among the reasons given for a statute, in 1559, which permits imports and exports in foreign ships, is the deficiency of English vessels to carry out the merchandize of their country.\*

Scarcity  
of Eng-  
lish ships  
in 1559.

The active and adventurous Earl of Cumberland is celebrated as the first English subject who built a ship of 800 tons burthen.†

Increase  
of vessels.

The merchant ships of England, although not large, soon became, towards the close of the century, numerous, and did special service to their country on many occasions, particularly against the Spanish Armada in 1588. Size and bulk could not be expected in merchant vessels, when Elizabeth herself, having engaged to supply the Dutch with thirty or forty ships of war, stipulates, that half of them shall bear 200 tons burthen, and the other half between 100 and 200.‡

Number  
of ships  
and men  
in the  
merchant  
service,  
A. D.  
1582.

In 1582 a kind of 'census' was taken under the inspection of the Lord Admiral Clinton, that the mercantile strength of the nation might be properly estimated. It was then found that the merchants could supply the royal navy with 14,295 mariners, and 1293 ships, of which 217 were above 80 tons. §

That

\* Stat. 1 Eliz. cap. 8.

† Anderson, vol. ii. p. 192.

‡ Rym. Fœd. tom. xvi. p. 340.

§ Sir W. Monson's Tracts, apud Harleian Voyages, vol. iii. p. 248.



That Scotland had many ships employed in the merchant service we are certain, although only from collateral accounts. Cent. XVI.  
Scotland.

In September 1557, some ships of Hull took the admiral and the vice-admiral of the *merchant ships* of Scotland.\* This implies a large fleet of trading vessels.

The statute enacted under James III. of Scotland, (and which was often afterwards renewed) which forbad all merchant ships to tempt the danger of the seas ‘between the feast of St. Simon and Jude, and Candlemass-day,’ must have contributed to dishearten the Northern seamen, by opening their eyes to a sense of their danger in that tempestuous clime.† Both Sir Andrew Wood and Sir Patrick Spence, [12] two of the most celebrated Scottish commanders, perished by storms.

That

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#### NOTES.

[12] Accordingly in an ancient ballad we find this veteran officer, much distressed on receiving orders he put to sea in the winter season.

‘ O, quha is this has done this deed,  
This ill deed unto me?  
To send me out this time o’ zeir  
To sail upon the se?’

He was in consequence cast away; and the bard proceeds:

‘ Have owre, have owre to Aberdour!  
Its fiftie fadom deip:  
And their lies guid Sir Patrick Spence,  
Wi’ th’ Scots lords at his feit.’

[RELIQUES OF ANCIENT POETRY, VOL. I.]

\* Talbot Coll. of Letters at Herald-Office, No. 149.

† Stat. 15, Parl. 3 Jac. III.

Cent. XVI. That wretched debasement of English coin, which the necessities of Henry VIII. unsatiated with the plunder of half his kingdom, had occasioned, is believed to have given pain to the susceptible mind of Edward VI. at the very early age when he received his crown.

His first coinage. His first coinage, nevertheless, emulated the worst of his father's. \* The pound of gold made thirty pounds in tale, though but twenty carats fine; and the pound of silver produced forty-eight shillings by tale, though but one-third fine. Thus every pound of fine silver made seven pounds four shillings in money; and the king's profit on each such pound was four pounds four shillings.

False coiners. As base money is most easily to be counterfeited, many false coiners were known to take advantage of the public calamity. Even one of the mint-masters, Sir William Sherrington, † was attainted by confession of counterfeiting testoons [13] to the value of 2000l.; and Francis Digby,

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#### NOTES.

[13] Sherrington had the command of the Bristol mint, and supplied the Protector's brother with a large sum of money. It is him of whom the good Latimer speaks rather too favorably, when he mentions, in a sermon, the restitution which a courtier had made. [LATIMER'S DISCOURSES.]

\* Leake's Hist. Account of English Coins, p. 211.

† Stat. 2 and 3 Ed. cap. VI. cap. 17.

Digby,\* a gentleman, was convicted of counter-<sup>Cent.XVI.</sup>feiting ‘ shillings, groats, rials, and crowns.’

In the third year of Edward, the standard of <sup>Standard</sup>gold was somewhat amended; and, in his fourth, <sup>of gold</sup>it was brought to its original purity, viz. twenty-<sup>improv-</sup>ed. three carats, three grains and an half, fine, and half a grain alloy. But the silver grew worse; for shillings were coined at the rate of seventy-two to the pound; and twelve ounces of fine silver were arbitrarily raised to the value of fourteen pounds eight shillings.

In the same year, however, the base money was lowered by proclamation, first to three-quarters, and then to half its nominal value.†

In 1551, crown and half-crown pieces of silver became for the first time current money; the six-penny piece too is believed then to have first appeared in England.

The year 1552 witnessed a great improvement <sup>Silver</sup>in the silver coin. The pound, which contained <sup>coin</sup>eleven ounces, one penny-weight, fine, and nine-<sup>somewhat</sup>teen penny-weights, alloy, was coined into no <sup>pur-</sup>more than three pounds by tale. This was done by indenture, ‡ and the silver threepence then made its first appearance.

The

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\* Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 292.

† Stowe's Annals, p. 605, 606.

‡ Lownds, p. 47.

t.  
XVI.  
Gold coin  
bought  
up.

The natural consequence of good money floating along with base coin is, that the good will be bought up for melting, and must soon be lost to the country. To prevent this catastrophe, which was approaching with hasty steps, severe punishments were denounced by parliament \* against such as should 'exchange any coined gold or silver, receiving or paying more than the value placed on the same by the king.'

Some  
amend-  
ment un-  
der Queen  
Mary.

Queen Mary had no sooner mounted the throne than she sought popularity, by issuing a proclamation which promised speedy relief for the inconveniences which so much base coin had brought upon the nation; and announcing that 'she had ordered her mints to form a coinage of silver, in fineness of the standard sterling; and of gold, in which the sovereign was to value thirty shillings, the half-sovereign or royal fifteen shillings, the angel ten, and the half-angel five. The silver coins were the groat, half-groat, and penny. Base money was directed to pass at half its nominal value.† But the 'standard sterling' here mentioned was not so fine as the old standard by two penny-weights. Besides, the base coin continued to be current; and, although reduced to half value, was exceedingly detrimental to the commerce and credit of the nation.

The

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\* Stat. 5 and 6 Edw. VI. cap. 19.

† Kennet's Queen Mary I. p. 335. Stowe's Annals, p. 616

The attempts to free England from its abundant base money had, during the reigns of Edward and Mary, been laudable, though insufficient. It was reserved for the firm hand of Elizabeth to restore the true standard to her coin and credit, in consequence of the measure, to her country.

During the two first years of her active government she coined so much money, both gold and silver, all of the right sterling standard, that she found herself enabled to utter a proclamation, in 1560,\* by which the bad coin [14] was reduced to its real value; viz. the best testoon to fourpence halfpenny, the second best to twopence farthing, and the third sort to nothing; the old groat to twopence, &c. &c. And as this regulation was at first severely felt by the holders of base money, the queen condescended, in her edict, to apologize for the measure, and to state how far the honor of the nation was concerned in clearing from its currency that inundation of false coin which had overwhelmed its credit in foreign countries.

There was now a separate mint in the Tower, to which the bad money was brought in heaps, as it was no longer the interest of the holders to keep

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NOTES.

[14] Camden affirms that the queen, some time before she destroyed the bad coin, caused it all to be marked with 'a greyhound, a port cluse, a lion, harp, rose, or fleur de lys.'

[REMAINES.

\* Stowe's Annals, 1560.



Cent. XVI. keep it in circulation. [15] At the close of 1561, when the operation of melting it all was completed, the following computation of the work and its cost is given by Stowe,\* who lived at the time :

Total of base money, 631,950 pound weight.

Which was current money, according to the rates of their several standards, 638,113l. 13s. 6d.

Total of the mass of fine monies, 244,416 pound weight.

Which is, in current money, at 60s. the pound weight, 733,248l.

The charges of coinage amounted to near 13,000l. [16]

‘ Next

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#### NOTES.

[15] All foreign coins were, at the same time, forbidden to be any longer current in England, and were ordered to be melted down, except only the Flemish, and the French golden crown. Vast quantities of Spanish gold were, in consequence of this order, brought to the mint; 2600l. was sent in during one single week. [STOWE’S ANNALS.]

[16] Mr. Hume, on the authority of a MS in the Paper Office, asserts that, to supply the necessary funds for the coinage, Elizabeth employed Gresham to borrow 200,000l. for her at Antwerp. He adds, that she herself afterwards was so impolitic as to make an innovation in the coin in 1601, by dividing a pound of silver into *sixty-two* shillings instead of *sixty*, the former standard. ‘ This,’ he writes, ‘ was the last time that the coin has been tampered with in England.’

[HIST. OF THE TUDORS, VOL. II.]

The

\* Survey of London, vol. i. p. 97, 98.

‘Next to the reformation of religion,’ says an <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup>ingenious and accurate modern writer,\* ‘nothing <sup>Thanked by the nation.</sup> could be more glorious or beneficial to the kingdom than the reformation of the money.’ The parliament congratulated Elizabeth upon it; and it makes a striking part of the laudatory inscription on her tomb at Westminster.

After she had accomplished this great work, the queen proceeded to coin, from time to time, the necessary quantities of money to supply the currency of the kingdom; nor varied (except once, <sup>Punishment of clippers and coiners.</sup> in the forty-third year of her reign, a very little) from the proper standard. The goodness of the metal frequently tempted the essays of clippers; and in 1578, Jean de Loy, a Frenchman, and five

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### NOTES.

The table beneath, taken from Bishop Fleetwood’s ‘Chronicon Pretiosum,’ will shew at one view, all the variations of the coin during the sixty years which have been the subject of this volume :

|              |             | Money by tale  |     | Fine silver in |     | Alloy. |  |
|--------------|-------------|----------------|-----|----------------|-----|--------|--|
|              |             | in a lb. Troy. |     | a lb. weight.  |     |        |  |
|              |             | oz.            | oz. | dwt.           | oz. | dwt.   |  |
| Last year of | Henry VIII. | 48             | 4   | 0              | 8   | 0      |  |
| 3d           | Edward VI.  | 72             | 6   | 0              | 6   | 3      |  |
| 5th          |             | 72             | 3   | 0              | 9   | 0      |  |
| 6th          |             | 60             | 11  | 1              | 0   | 19     |  |
| 1st          | Mary I.     | - 60           | 11  | 0              | 1   | 0      |  |
| 2d           | Elizabeth   | - 60           | 11  | 2              | 0   | 18     |  |
| 43d          |             | - 62           | 11  | 8              | 0   | 18     |  |

\* Leake’s Hist. Account, p. 232.

**Cent. XVI.** five English gentlemen,\* were arraigned and executed for offences of this kind, in consequence of a statute † which had passed two years before, declaring clipping and coining to be treason.

The judicious Dr. Davenant estimates the value of the silver coin in England at the death of Elizabeth at 2,500,000*l.* sterling. If therefore, with Dr. Campbell,‡ we reckon the golden coin at 1,500,000*l.* more, the stock of coined money in the realm, at the accession of James I. will amount to 4,000,000*l.* sterling.

**Scotland.** The death of James V. made a considerable alteration in the current money of Scotland. **Change of coins after James V.** Groats, half-groats, pennies, and halfpennies, are never mentioned in any subsequent statutes. It is supposed that this was occasioned by the rise of silver in value, and by the new practice of the Scots; who, like their allies, the French, [17] began to drop the smaller coins, and only name those which were larger. §

The standard of money in Scotland had been continually varying. In the 16th of James V.

1529,

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#### NOTES.

[17] ‘ Thus in France,’ says Bishop Nicholson, ‘ the deniers perished and were forgotten, and the sols and livres succeeded in their room.’ [SCOT. HIST. LIBRARY.]

\* Stowe’s Annals, p. 684. † Stat. 18 Eliz. cap. 1.

‡ Lives of Admirals, vol. i. p. 391.

§ Nic. Sc. Lib. p. 94.

1529, a pound weight of gold, when coined, had <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> produced 108 pounds of current money. But, under Mary of Guise's administration, A. D. 1556, a pound weight of gold, although the quantity of alloy was considerably increased, produced 144 pounds current money; In 1529, a pound weight of silver, when coined, produced 9l. 2s.; but, in 1556, it produced 13l. current money.\*

The short reign of Mary Stuart produced <sup>Coinage of Mary.</sup> chiefly a coinage of testoons; a piece which answered in bulk and appearance to the English shilling, but had only one-fifth of its value. On her marriage with Lord Darnley she struck silver coins, which weighed each an ounce, and were impressed with two thistles, and 'Maria & Henricus, Dei. Gra. R. & R. Scotorum.' The reverse of these pieces was remarkable; a tree (supposed to relate to a remarkable yew in the park of the Earl of Lenox, father to Darnley) crowned, and the motto 'Dat gloria vires.' The value of this coin was thirty shillings. There were others of twenty shillings, and some of ten, all with the same impression.†

In 1563 it was found necessary to exert the powers of government, and, by two severe statutes, to prevent the exporting bullion, and importing false coin from abroad.‡ A coinage to  
no

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\* Ruddiman's Pref. to Anderson's Diplom. p. 80.

† Nic. Sc. Lib. p. 95.

‡ Stat. 69 & 70 Parl. 9 Qu. Mary.

Cent. XVI. no very great amount was executed in 1567, and  
 the next four years. [18]

Money  
 debased  
 under the  
 regent  
 Morton.

The profligate administration of Morton, in 1580, brought a sudden increase of corruption on the Scottish coinage, which had already degenerated much from its purity. That unprincipled statesman at once added a fourth part of alloy to every pound of silver; and the value of the coin sunk in proportion. This was an evil which demanded an immediate remedy; and, in consequence, soon after the fall of that regent,\* a statute passed, which, after enlarging much on the evil suffered throughout Scotland, by the high price of the last coinage of silver, prohibits the seven persons there named, who had been entrusted with the coinage, to proceed any farther in it; and directs all that silver, to the weight of two hundred eleven stone, and ten pound weight, which had been coined, to be brought in again, and recoin'd in 'ten shilling pieces of eleven-penny, fine, [19] contain'd foure in the unce, havand

Called in.

on

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#### NOTES.

[18] Among the coins of James VI. is found a silver piece, dated 1567, weighing an ounce, and valued at thirty shillings. It has impressed, a drawn sword, with a crown on the point, circumscribed with the celebrated speech of Trajan, 'Pro me. Si merear, in me.' The choice of this motto is ascribed to George Buchanan.

[19] By this expression, 'eleven-penny, fine,' must be understood 'eleven ounces, fine, to a pound, Troy,' and not 'eleven

\* Ruddiman's Pref. to Anderson's Diplom. p. 74.



on the ane side the portraiture of his majestie's <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup>  
 bodie armed, with ane crown on his head, and  
 ane sword in his hand,' &c. &c.\* The king's  
 master-coiner has this task imposed upon him,  
 andt he 'Takkesmen,' or coiners, are released  
 from their contracts.

In a subsequent statute, which confirms certain <sup>Value</sup>  
 regulations made at Dundee, great complaint is <sup>regu-</sup>  
 made of the scarcity and exorbitantly high price <sup>lated.</sup>  
 of gold and silver coin. A fixed value is therein  
 appointed, which was on no account to be exceed-  
 ed. Besides this, all good subjects were encour-  
 aged to bring forward their plate, and send it to  
 be coined at the mint; 'only the thretty-pennie  
 thereof being retained for his majestie's profit.'†

The last notice taken of the Scottish coinage, <sup>Affirmed,</sup>  
 [20] before the accession of James to the crown  
 of

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### NOTES.

'eleven penny-weights to an ounce;' since that supposition  
 must not only leave the silver plate very base, but it would  
 also be much disproportioned to the fineness of the gold plate,  
 which was fixed at twenty-two carats.

[ANDERSON'S ORIGIN OF COMMERCE, VOL. II.

[20] In 1597, the proportion of Scottish money to that of  
 England was as ten to one; the Scots having in that year coined  
 fifty shillings from an ounce of silver, and thirty pounds out of  
 an ounce of gold.

[RUDDIMAN'S PREFACE TO 'DIPLOMATA & NUMISMATA, &c.

\* Stat. 106, Parl. 7 Jac. VI.

† Stat. 253, Parl. 15 Jac. VI.

**Cent. XVI.** of England, appears to have been in 1600, in which a statute passed,\* promising that there shall be no alteration made in the value or fineness of the coin during that session.

**High  
price of  
silver,  
A. D.  
1603.**

The price of silver, in spite of all endeavors to the contrary, continued to increase. Sixty shillings were paid for an ounce of that metal in 1603; and the 'mark' pieces' coined in 1601, 2, 3, and 4, are proportioned in value to that rate. There were half-marks, quarter, and half-quarter marks also coined; the last was the smallest silver piece (as Bishop Nicolson thinks) ever minted in Scotland. Its value was, in 1603, twenty pence Scots, and about three halfpence English. And these 'marks,' with their sub-divisions, were the last pieces coined by James VI. before he quitted Edinburgh to ascend the throne of England.†

**England.  
Rate of  
living,  
A. D.  
1550.**

It appears, by the very exact memorials compiled by Bishop Fleetwood, that, in 1550, wheat and oats were at the average price of eight shillings the quarter; malt five shillings and a penny; Malmsey wine fourpence the quart; a load of straw five shillings, and of charcoal twelve; sea-coal was not commonly used.

From this one might suppose the cost of living to be then at least five times cheaper than in the eighteenth

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\* Stat. 9 Parl. 16 Jac. VI.

† Nic. Scot. Hist. Lib. p. 97.

eighteenth century; yet the extreme debasement of the coin, in 1550, obstructs the calculation. Cent. XVI.

House rent was cheap in proportion. The comptroller of the king's household occupied at the same period a mansion in Channel-Row, Westminster, near Whitehall, at the yearly rent of thirty shillings.\*

In 1559, the physician in ordinary of Elizabeth † had a pension of one hundred pounds per annum, besides diet, wine, wax, &c. The professorships at both universities continued at forty pounds a year, as in the days of Henry VIII.; but, as the money had been reformed by the queen, the amount was really much greater than it had been. Wheat was sold then at nearly eight shillings the quarter; a load of hay cost twelve shillings and sixpence; and Bourdeaux wine was bought at fifty shillings the hogshead. A. D. 1559.

Towards the close of the century it was enacted, that wheat ‡ might be exported when not more than twenty shillings the quarter; peas and beans thirteen shillings and fourpence; and barley and malt twelve shillings. As these were certainly looked on as moderate prices for the commodities, it may reasonably be said that the same sum of money would purchase, in 1594, four times as  
s 2
much

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\* Life of Sir Thomas Smith, apud Anderson, vol. ii. p. 86.

† Rym. Fœd. vol. xv. p. 532.

‡ Stat. 35 Eliz. cap. 7.

Cent. XVI. much of the necessaries of life as it would do in 1794. A difference easily to be accounted for, from the subsequent increase of population and of coin.

In the same year the queen fixes the salary of her 'Keeper of the royal library, at Whitehall,' at 13l. 6s. 8d. per annum;\* a sum nearly equal to sixty pounds in the eighteenth century.

Scotland. The price of provisions in Scotland, as settled by parliament in 1551,† was very moderate, when the difference between the current money of the sister-nations is considered, which seems to have been at that period pretty nearly as one English pound to four [21] Scottish.

Rate of  
living,  
A. D.  
1551.

The swan and the crane are prized at 5s.; the black game 6d.; a tame goose 16d.; a capon 12d.; a common fowl 8d.; a chicken 4d.; and a pig 1s. 6d. Wines had also their allotted price: Bourdeaux wine was limited to 16l. the ton, or 8d. the pint; and wine of Rochelle to 13l. the ton, and 6d. the pint.

In

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#### NOTES.

[21] By a record in the *Fœdera* it appears that, only eight years before, the settlement on the Lady Margaret Douglas, the niece of Henry VIII. was 6800 marks Scottish money, or 1700 marks sterling; a difference of about four pounds to one.

\* Rym. Fœd. vol xvi. p. 264.

† Stat. 12, Parl. 5 Qu. Marie.

In 1584 a life-guard of forty soldiers was raised for the\* protection of the king's person ; to each of these was appointed a stipend [22] of 200l. per annum, amounting at that time to little more than twenty-five pounds English ; so much had the money of Scotland decreased in its value.

At the same period the stipends of preachers throughout Scotland were varied from 400l. down to 100l. ; that is, from about 100l. sterling to 25l. ; and some few produced only 16l. 10s. per annum.†

The venerable but ill-founded prejudices against the lending of money for interest, continuing to operate during the sixteenth century, produced in England repeated statutes to condemn and endeavour the abolition of that practice. The good sense of Elizabeth soon discerned the necessity and use to the community, of the only means which could induce the miser to unlock his treasures, and permit them to rove abroad to the encouragement of the bold

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NOTES.

[22] It is an odd circumstance that the king should order the first fruits of church-benefices, and the produce of vacant livings, to be set aside expressly for a fund for the payment of this guard.

[ACT ABOVE CITED.]

\* Sat. 137, Parl. 8 Jac. VI.

† Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 97.



**Cent. XVI.** bold adventurer and the industrious trader.  
 Ten per cent. allowed by statute. Accordingly, an act passed in 1571 which, after bitter denunciations against 'usury,' permits money to be borrowed and lent at the rate of ten per cent. per annum.\*

The same in Scotland. The same consideration induced the legislature of Scotland, by two successive acts, to allow the same interest, ten per cent, to be taken in the Northern district of the island.†

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\* 13 Eliz. cap. 8.

† Stat. 251, Parl. 15 Jac. VI. and Stat. 7, Parl. 16 Jac. VI.

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# HISTORY

OF

# GREAT BRITAIN.

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## BOOK VII.

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### CHAP. VII.—PART. I.

#### SECTION I.

HISTORY OF THE MANNERS, VIRTUES, VICES, REMARKABLE CUSTOMS, LANGUAGE, DRESS, DIET, AND DIVERSIONS, OF THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE ACCESSION OF EDWARD VI. A. D. 1547, TO THAT OF JAMES I. AND VI. A. D. 1603.

THERE is no epoch in the History of Eng-  
 land which merits so much and such accurate consideration as to character and manners as that now before the reader. He will find himself, when he contemplates the reign of Elizabeth, unless he is somewhat more than a superficial observer, equally deceived in his idea of the queen and of her people; and, dazzled with the brilliant glory of the one, and the romantic bravery of the other, will paint to himself a faultless monarch at the head of a simple, virtuous, invincible nation.

Cent. XVI.  
 Character  
 of the  
 English  
 under  
 Eliza-  
 beth.

We

Cent. XVI.

We have already sat in judgment on Elizabeth; her magnanimity has met its due praise, her despotism and caprice their censures; the nature of those whom she governed is now to be investigated. Fortunately, the turn of the age led to 'vindications, letters, papers, apophthegms,' &c. which have furnished as ample materials for an account of the manners of the people, as are afforded by the chronicles of the day for their political history.

The period now treated of is not in general favorable to the English character. Constancy of sentiment, in the days of Mary, was, indeed, the just praise of many martyrs; but the majority of the nation changed faith four times in twenty years, without a thought of remorse.

Religion.

The religion of Elizabeth's reign was all in extremes. On the one side fanaticism and superstition; on the other sourness and hypocritical parade. If *these* were pompous beyond reason in their worship, *those* were sullen and slovenly. Both Papist and Puritan, when uppermost, made use of persecution. But there the Protestant party shewed most moderation; 'because,' writes a sarcastic author, 'they were less governed by the priesthood than the Roman Catholics.'

Bravery.

Undaunted valor, and a forward spirit of enterprize, distinguished the soldier and the mariner of Elizabeth; subordination appears not to have marked his character.

'They

‘ They\* are powerful in the field,’ says Paul <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> Hentzner, ‘ successful against their enemies, and <sup>Activity.</sup> impatient of any thing like slavery.’

‘ They† are,’ he adds, ‘ good sailors, and better pirates.’ [1] And Fynes Moryson, in his travels on the continent, ‡ avers, that such was the general opinion of the Germans; ‘ for that which we call “ warre at sea,” and “ the royal navy,” they terme “ robbery and pirate ships,” neither have they patience to hear any justification or excuse.’ Scaliger, too, joins in this calumny; ‘ Nulli melius piraticum exercent quam Angli.’ § This censure was unjust. The English only plundered those who were at open war with their nation; and they treated their prisoners with humanity. It may however be said, with too much appearance of truth, that the predatory enterprizes against the most defenceless Spanish colonists, headed by younger brothers or needy elder ones, tended little to increase the stock of national honesty.

The

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#### NOTES.

[1] Conceit had station among the follies of the English; for the observant German traveller adds, “ If they see a foreigner particularly well made and handsome, they say, “ it is pity he is not an Englishman!” [HENTZNER.

\* Hentzner, apud Fugitive Pieces, vol. ii. p. 301.

† Ibid. p. 300.

‡ F. Moryson, part i. p. 37.

§ Scaligerana, p. 226.

Cent. XVI.

Latimer's  
character  
of the  
age.

The picture which Bishop Latimer draws of his own times is odious ; the corruption of each judge ; murtherers unpunished ; [2] adultery, [3] covetousness, bribery, insolence to the poor, and neglect of paying their wages ; [4] these were, according to the good prelate, the prominent features of his day. Some allowance must, however, be made for the excusable exaggeration of a zealous orator ; striving to awaken and terrify an infant king, and a greedy, indolent, self-interested ministry.

To the vices of the age, the sway of Mary added bigotry and inhumanity ; but these were the crimes of a few, and affected not the national character.

Among

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NOTES.

[2] ' A searcher in London displeased a merchant : they had words, and the merchant kills him. They that told me this tale say it is winked at ; they look through their fingers and will not see it ; whether it is taken up with a pardon or not,' &c. &c.

[LATIMER'S SERMONS.]

[3] The sourest of satirists, Philip Stubbs, charges the gentlewomen of London, in the most gross terms, with possessing gardens in the suburbs, walled round and locked up ; but provided with arbors, bowers, turrets, and banqueting-rooms, for the reception of their paramours. [ANATOMIE OF ABUSES.]

[4] ' For the love of God let poor workmen be paid ! They make their moan that they can get no money ; the poor labourers, gun-makers, powder-men, bow-makers, arrow-makers, smiths, carpenters, and other crafts, cry for their wages. They be unpaid, some of them three or four months, some of them half a year,' &c.

[LATIMER'S SERMONS.]



Among the favorites of Elizabeth, besides the <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> most extreme servility, there was to be found so <sup>Envy</sup> rank a crop of envy, that it choked the fairest <sup>thrives</sup> plants ; the minds of Nottingham, Raleigh, even <sup>at court.</sup> of Essex, abounded with this vile weed.

Those who have been accustomed to hear of <sup>Effemina-</sup> the hardy manners of Elizabeth's age, will wonder at the following remark of Dr. Caius, which charges those fancied patterns of sturdy manliness with effeminate delicacy ; ' The olde manly hardiness, stoute courage, and painfulness of Englande, is utterly driven away ; in the steade whereof men now-a-daies receive womanliness, [5] and become nice ; not able to withstande a blaste of wynde, &c.\*

The

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NOTES.

[5] That, however, the court ladies could in their turn put on *manliness*, we have a striking instance in Mr. Lodge's interesting and curious ' Illustrations of British History.' Mary, Countess of Shrewsbury, in consequence of a quarrel between the family of Cavendish (to which she belonged) and that of Stanhope, sent in 1592 the following letter to Sir Thomas Stanhope of Shelford, by a special person ; who declared, when he delivered it, that if he erred in any thing, it was ' in speaking it more mildly, and not in terms of such disdain as he was commanded. ' My lady has commanded me to say thus much to you. " That though you be more wretched, vile, and miserable than any creature living ; and, for your wickedness, be become more ugly in shape than the vilest toad in the world ; and one to whom none of reputation would vouchsafe

\* The Booke of Counseil, &c. by Dr. John Caius, fol. 23.

Cent. XVI.

The fashion of revenging private wrongs by somewhat very like assassination, was too common among the great as well as the inferior ranks of society. [6]

Other  
vices and  
follies  
prevalent.

The memoirs of Cary, Earl of Monmouth, afford an instance of the prevalence of gaming at the court of Elizabeth. 'I had no mind,' says he, 'to stay in the court; but having given out some money to go on foot in twelve days to Berwick, I performed it that summer, which was worth

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#### NOTES.

safe to send any message; yet she hath thought good to send thus much to you; that she be contented that you should live, (and doth no waies wish your death) but to this end, that all the plagues and miseries that may befall any man, may light on such a caitiff as you are; and that you should live to have all your friends forsake you; and, without your great repentance, (which she looketh not for because your life has been so bad) you will be damned perpetually in hell fire." With many other opprobrious and hateful words, which could not be remembered, because the bearer would deliver it but once, as he said he was commanded.'

[6] In a letter from Mr. Gilbert Talbot to the Earl of Shrewsbury, dated February 13, 1578, an account is given of 'one Wyndam, who shott a my Lord Rytche' while riding in the streets; and of Lodowyke Grevell's attack on Sir John Conwayne, (in the street also) [first with a 'cougell,' where-with he stunned him: and then with a sword while he lay on the ground. 'I am forced,' says the letter writer, 'to trouble your honor wyth these *tryflynge matters*, since I know of no greater.' It was a savage age when these matters were accounted 'tryflynge.'

[Lodge's ILLUSTRATIONS.]

worth to me two thousand pounds ; which better-  
ed me to live at court a good while after.\*

Cent. XVI.

The probity of the inferior people appears in no favorable light, nor did the administration of the police [7] contribute much to the extirpation of profligacy.

Drinking had its votaries in abundance. Much time was spent by the citizens of London at their numerous [8] taverns. In the country, if a bitter  
writer

Drunken-  
ness.

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NOTES.

[7] ‘ The thirst after this authority,’ says the Lord Keeper, speaking of country magistrates, ‘ proceedeth from nothing but an ambitious humour of gaining of reputation among their neighbours ; that still, when they come home, they may be presented with presents.’

[TOWNSHEND’S HIST. COLLECTIONS.]

[8] The taverns of London were many and much frequented. An old bard has favored us with a list of them in ‘ Newes from Bartholomew fayre,’ a black letter poem, the titlepage of which is torn off :

‘ There hath been great sale and utterance of wine,  
Besides beere, and ale, and ipocras fine,  
In every country, region, and nation,—  
But chiefly in Billingsgate, at the Salutation ;  
And the Bore’s head near London-stone ;  
The Swan at Dowgate, a taverne well knowne ;  
The Miter in Cheape ; and then the Bull Head ;  
And many like places that make noses red ;  
Th’ Bore’s Head in Old Fish-street, Three Crowns in the  
Vintry ;  
And now, of late, St. Martin’s in the Sentree ;

The.

Cent. XVI. writer of the time\* may find credit, every public house was crowded from morn to night with determined drunkards.

Camden, who allows the increase of drunkenness [9] among the English, imputes it to their familiarity with the Flemings in the Low Country wars.

Swear-  
ing.

The practice of perpetual swearing [10] can only seek for extenuation in recurring to the general custom of Europe.

Credulity

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#### NOTES.

The Windmill in Lothbury; the ship at th' Exchange, King's Head, in New Fish Street, where roysters do range; The Mermaid in Cornhill; Red Lion in the Strand, Three Tuns Newgate Market; Old Fish Street at the Swan.'

[ANNOTATIONS ON OLD PLAYS.

[9] Among other satires on the English propensity to drink, we find Gascoygne's 'Delicate Dyet for daintie-mouthed Droonkards.' 'The Almaynes,' says he, 'with their smale Rhenish wine, are contented; but we must have March beere, double beere, dagger ale, bracket, &c. &c. Yea, wine itself is not sufficient, but sugar, lemons, and spices, must be drowned thereinne!' He proceeds to execrate the folly of permitting the wife, &c. to follow her mate to the alehouse, and even to invoke her as a pretence for a bumper. 'Before your maistresse and my beloved wife, pledge me this cup full.'

[10] The example set by the sovereign certainly had some effect. Elizabeth never spared an oath in public speech or private conversation when she thought it added energy. See 'Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ,' &c. &c. The wretched French priest who saw England in 1553, adds his blundering testimony

\* Stubs' *Anatomic of Abuse*, p. 73.

Credulity reigned throughout Great Britain <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> with unlimited sway. But this was the favorite <sup>Credulity.</sup> folly of Europe; and when the firm mind of Elizabeth could descend to court the science of\* Dr. Dee; and while the column used by the wicked, wise, and accomplished Catharine di Medicis to consult her mages, still exists; we must not wonder at the ‘christened cat’† of James, nor the entire belief of witchcraft, both in England and Scotland, in the sixteenth century.

That we may not judge too hardly of the English from the foregoing picture of their manners, it were but just to compare their faults with those of the other Europeans of the sixteenth century. Inhumanity and rapacity will then be found to have ruled the continent; and the massacres of  
France,

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#### NOTES.

testimony, ‘In their cups they will swear “blood and death” that you shall drink, &c. saying, “Bi God, drink iou, goud ouin.”’

[VOYAGE D’ESTIENNE PERLIN.

The stage (which always presents the truest picture of the times) produces, in Gammer Gurton’s Needle, a clown, of not more than common brutality, who swears ‘by Gog’s bones,’ ‘soule,’ ‘harte,’ ‘breade,’ ‘sacrament,’ ‘woundes,’ and ‘malison,’ all within two short scenes.

[DODSLEY’S OLD PLAYS, VOL. II.

‘If they speake,’ writes the bitter Stubbs, speaking of the English, ‘but three or four words, yet they must be interlaced with a bloudie oath or two.’

[ANATOMIE OF ABUSES.

\* Berkenhout’s Biography, p. 425, note c.

† See before p. 197.



**Cent. XVI.** France, the gibbets and wheels of the Netherlands, the assassinations countenanced by Spain, and the poisonings encouraged in many Italian states, will hide the foibles of Great Britain, in their gloomy and murtherous shade.

**Scotland.** In point of national character, the Scots seem, in the latter half of the 15th century, to have had the advantage of their Southern neighbours. Their zeal for religion was sincere, although inconsiderately fervent, and their blind attachment to their teachers sprung from a laudable eagerness to hear their doctrines uninterruptedly.

**Spirit of chivalry.** The spirit of Chivalry had reigned, a very short time before the reformation, as decidedly in Scotland as in any part of Europe; and the war which James VI. waged against his brother-in-law, Henry VIII. had no foundation except his romantic and fancied attachment to the queen of France, 'whom he had never seen, and yet whose letters' (as his consort, Margaret of England, tenderly urged) 'had more influence on his conduct than the tears of his wife, and the remonstrances of his people.'\*

**Peace abroad produces sanguinary home dissensions.** At length the long peace which followed the accession of Elizabeth to the English throne, and which terminated in a fœderal union of the sister kingdoms, in some degree changed the manners of the Scots; directed that ferocious valor which used  
to

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\* Drummond's Sc. Hist. p. 72, 74.

to harrass their rival neighbours against each one's domestic foe ; and kindled among the once peaceable districts a spirit of revenge and plunder which had hitherto only been known to the borderers, or the least civilized highland clans. Murthers [11] and conflagrations, the natural consequence of deadly feuds, were now too often perpetrated ; nor could the weak efforts of the pacific James VI. protect the houses and families of his subjects.

Cent. XVI.

It was rather among the lower than the higher orders of society that virtue was to be sought in the North. The men of rank were almost uniformly unprincipled, ambitious, and corrupt. There was a race run between the favorites and ministers of James VI. for the gold of Elizabeth ; gold which was avowedly lavished on these despicable beings to procure the most important secrets of State.

Corruption of the great.

A general

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#### NOTES.

[11] The practice of assassination, it should be observed, conveyed not, in the sixteenth age, that idea of horror which modern times have annexed to it. Buchanan relates the murders of Cardinal Beaton, and of Rizzio, without expressing those feelings which seem natural to a man, or that indignation which became a historian. Knox too talks of the death of Beaton, and of the Duke of Guise, not only without censure, but with exultation. On the other hand, Lesley, Bishop of Ross, mentions the assassination of the Earl of Murray with some degree of applause ; and Blackwood dwells upon it with the most indecent triumph, and ascribes it directly to the hand of God.

[ROBERTSON'S HIST OF SCOTLAND.]

Cent. XVI.

Charity  
well re-  
gulated.

A general exercise of brotherhood, and of that charity which relieves the needy, must be allowed to the Scots, who maintained their poor by voluntary contributions, not by legal assessments. But of the other species of charity, which makes allowance for those of a different faith, the nation was destitute. And those, whether Episcopalians or Papists, who differed in their sentiments from the tenets of the national church, were stigmatized from the pulpits as ‘children of the devil.’

All ranks  
given to  
drinking.

One excess, that of the bottle, the Scots were perhaps introduced to by their exercise of hospitality. A traveller, who speaks kindly of his reception in the North, points out the courtiers, the country gentlemen, and the merchants, as hearty votaries to the cause of drinking.\*

Credulous as to  
witches,  
&c.

Credulity, supported by ridiculous traditions, was as much the foible of the age as were bigotry and narrowness of mind. [12] The Scots were

no

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#### NOTES.

[12] Perhaps the most ungenerous instance of narrow sentiment that ever sullied the annals of a corporation is the following; which can indeed only be paralleled by that act of Henry VIII. of England, which rendered the most delicate of concealments treason, in any lady whom he might court.

The common council of Edinburgh enacted, in 1583, (as it stands in the 7th volume of their council-book) that whereas hitherto the freedom of the city had been the por-  
tion

\* Fynes Moryson's Itinerary, p. 56.

no more exempted from this imbecility than their Southern neighbours. [13] We find, in 1560, Robert Henderson, a surgeon, receiving from the Scottish council twenty marks for restoring to life a man and woman run through the bodies by the French. and a woman who had lain two days in her grave.\*

Cent. XVI.

### Witchcraft

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#### NOTES.

tion of the daughters of each citizen; now, if such unmarried daughters were not reputed pure virgins at the time of their marriage, they and their husbands should forfeit their right to any such freedom.

[MAITLAND'S EDINBURGH.

[13] On all the old houses still existing in Edinburgh there are remains of talismanic or cabalistical characters, which the superstition of earlier ages had caused to be engraven on their fronts. These were generally composed of some text of scripture, of the name of God, or perhaps of an emblematic representation of the resurrection.

[ARNOT'S EDINBURGH.

Nor were the inhabitants of the country less disposed to superstition than those of the capital, although they seem to have varied in their choice of a protector, as the following anecdotes will prove:

In 1594, the elders of the Scottish church exerted their utmost influence to abolish an irrational custom among the husbandmen, which, with some reason, gave great offence. The farmers were apt to leave a portion of their land untilled and uncropt year after year. This spot was supposed to be dedicated to Satan, and was styled 'The good man's croft,' viz. 'the landlord's acre.' It seems probable that some pagan ceremony had given rise to so strange a superstition.

[BOOK OF UNIVERSAL KIRK, APUD ARNOT.

\* Maitland's Edinburgh, p. 24, from the Council-Book.

Cent. XVI.

Witchcraft was made a capital crime very early after the reformation.\* That practice was indeed, under one name or another, in universal credit throughout Europe. It flourished most in the North, where there were ‘matron-like witches, and ignorant witches.’ It was to one of the superior sort that Satan, being pressed to kill James VI. thus excused himself in French, ‘Il est homme de Dieu.’†

England.

The lan-  
guage ne-  
glected.

It was peculiarly unfortunate for the English tongue that, for a long space after the invention of printing, every person who aimed at displaying his powers of writing, thought that he must use the Latin tongue in his compositions. Accordingly, the vernacular style, instead of being strengthened and refined by numerous compositions, was only corrupted with new barbarisms, for want of that attention and practice which it might fairly claim from Englishmen. The judicious historian of English poetry thinks that ‘(except‡ Sir Thomas More, whose “Dialogue of Tribulation,” and “History of Richard III.” were esteemed standards of style as low as the reign of James I.) Roger Ascham was perhaps the first of our scholars who ventured to break the shackles of latinity, by publishing his “Toxophilus”

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\* Stat. 73, Parl. 9 Maria.

† Spotiswood p. 384.

‡ Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. iii. p. 329.



ophilus" in English; chiefly with a view of giving a pure and correct model of English composition, or rather of shewing how a subject might be treated with grace and propriety in English as well as Latin.' It appears, however, that the art of writing well in English was attended to in some degree in 1553, since Dr. Thomas Wilson, [14] the interesting author of a 'Treatise on Rhetoric,' published at that period these remarks: 'When we have learned usuall and accustomable wordes to set foorth the our meaninge, we ought to join them together in apte order, that the eare may delite in hearynge the harmonie. I know some Englishmen,' he proceeds to say, 'that in this point have such a gifte in the Englishe, as fewe in Latine have the lyke; and therefore delite the wise and learned so muche with their plesaunte composition, that many rejoyce when they maye heare suche, and thynke muche learninge is gotte when

Cent. XVI.  
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Dr. Wil-  
son's  
book on  
rhetoric.

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NOTES.

[14] Dr. Wilson was bred at King's College, Cambridge, where he was tutor to the two sons of the Duke of Suffolk, who fell by the sweating sickness. After narrowly escaping the snares of the Inquisition at Rome, he was much employed by Elizabeth in embassies and other state business, and became Dean of Durham, secretary of state, and privy counsellor. He died in 1581. He used uncommon dispatch in public business, and had a singular strength of memory. Seven orations of Demosthenes were by him translated into the English language.

[HIST. OF POETRY.]

Cent. XVI.



Alliteration.

Rhyme  
improperly  
introduced.

when thei maie talke with them.' He owns, however, that faults were sometimes to be found in English compositions, and particularly censures the excess of alliteration ; ' Some,' says he, ' use overmuch repetition of one letter, as " piti- full povertie prayeth for a penie, but puffed pre- sumpcion passeth not a poynt; pampering his panche with pestilent pleasure, procuring his passeporte to poste it to hell pitte, there to be punished with paynes perpetuall." Others he blames for the affectation of ' ending their sentences all alike ; making their talk rather to appear rymed metre, than to seme plaine speache.' One preacher he heard who had not a dozen sentences in his whole sermon but what ended in rhyme. So that some, not the best disposed, wished the preacher a lute ; ' that soe with his rymed sermon he mighte use some pleasaunte melodie ; and so the people might take pleasure divers waies, and daunce if they liste.'\*

These intelligent remarks describe plainly enough the convulsive throes of a manly, expressive language, struggling to produce sense and gracefulness, but ill assisted by her literary gossips.

The English tongue wanted not for misleaders, shaded by the plausible cloak of improvement.

In Elizabeth's reign the taste of speaking the language (if not of writing it) had nearly been led  
away,

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\* Wilson on Rhetoric, fol. 85, 86.

away, from strength and dignity to accumulated <sup>Cent.XVI.</sup> Antithesis, by one John Lilly; whose pedantic <sup>Antithe-</sup> compositions so infected the court, that it be- <sup>sis.</sup> came the fashion, among people of politeness, to <sup>John</sup> study and imitate his turgid measure. Of the <sup>Lilly,</sup> merit which attracted those imitators let the following extract bear witness.

‘ He caused the sees to breake their boundes, sith men had broke their vowes; and to swell as farre above their reach, as men had swerved beyond their reason. Then might you see shippes sayle where sheepe fed; anchors cast where ploughes goe; fishermen throwe their nets where husbandinen sowe their corne; and fishes throwe their scales where fowles do breed their quilles.’

Yet it was of this unnatural bombastic writer <sup>Ridic-</sup> that Mr. Blount (no despicable author) ridicu- <sup>lously</sup> lously says, in his ‘ Epistle Dedicatorie,’ ‘ For this <sup>com-</sup> poet sate at the sunne’s table; Apollo gave him <sup>mended.</sup> a wreath of his own bayes without snatching; the lyre he played on had no borrowed stringes.’ ‘ She,’ he adds, ‘ who could not “ parler Euphuism,” was as little regarded as she who cannot speak French.’ In this he referred to a book of Lilly, entitled, ‘ Euphues and his England,’ scarcely to be paralleled for antithesis, alliteration, and absurdity.

The many extracts from Scottish poets and <sup>Scotland.</sup> prose writers, which have accompanied the past <sup>Lan-</sup> history, <sup>guage.</sup>

Cent. XVI. history, render any description of the language useless. The men of northern shires of England, and the lowlands of Scotland, spoke a dialect which, being derived from the Saxon tongue, was nearly the same. The Highlanders did then (and do still) use the Erse or Ersh language; but the tongue of the lower shires of Scotland seems to have been always called English. [15]

Derived  
from the  
Saxon.

Neglect-  
ed.

This language, like that of England, sank for a long time under a classical oppression. Nor did any author think of writing in a tongue so little calculated to express his thoughts with energy or delicacy; while the Latin, nervous, concise, and perspicuous, courted his pen. ‘While this,’ says an elegant modern, ‘was almost the only species

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### NOTES.

[15] An act, passed in the fifth parliament of Mary Stuart, ordains, that none shall print without licence, ‘outher in Latine, or in English toung.’

‘Oh, reverend Chawser! rose of rhetoures alle!

Was thou not of *our Inglis* alle the licht?’

[DUNBAR’S GOLDEN TERCE.]

‘Alas! for ane, quhilk lamp was in this land,

Of eloquence, the flowand balmy strand!

And in *our Inglis* rhetorick the rose,

As of rubèis, the carbuncle bin chose.’

[LYNDSAY’S PAPINGO.]

“*Quis non laborat, non manducet.*”

This is in *Inglische*, toung or leit,

“*Quha labouris nocht, he shall not eit.*”

[LYNDSAY’S SATYRE OF THE THREE ESTAITTS.]

cies of composition, and all authors, by using one Cent. XVI  
 common language, could be brought to a nearer  
 comparison, the Scottish writers were not inferior  
 to those of any other nation. The happy genius  
 of Buchanan, equally formed to excel in prose or  
 verse, more various, more original, and more  
 elegant, than that of almost any other modern  
 who writes in Latin, reflects, with regard to this  
 particular, the greatest lustre on his country.\*

But, although it seems probable that the dia- Its me-  
 lect of Scotland, had the nations remained sepa- rits.  
 rate, might, like that of England, have purified  
 itself, and become the language of the historian  
 and the poet, yet the accession of James to both  
 crowns prevented each chance of celebrity. The  
 court being withdrawn from the capital, no do-  
 mestic standard of propriety and correctness of  
 speech remained. The few compositions which  
 Scotland produced were tried by the English  
 standard, and every word or phrase which varied  
 from that, was pronounced barbarous.† An un-  
 just decision; since, doubtless, the lowland Scot-  
 tish dialect retained more of the Saxon tongue,  
 unmixed with any Norman idiom, [16] than the  
 English;

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#### NOTES.

[16] On this subject the ingenious Dissertation on the  
 Scoto-Saxon Dialect, sent by Dr. Geddes to the ‘Antiquaries  
 of Scotland,’ merits a perusal; he writes as a man well skilled  
 in

\* Robertson’s Scotland, vol. ii. p. 256.

† Ibid. p. 258.



Cent. XVI. English; and the expressions in Chaucer and Lydgate, which puzzle the most learned commentator, could be frequently better comprehended by the simple swain who tends his flocks on the banks of Tweed.

Letters  
varying  
from the  
English.

The use of the 'W' seems to have been little known in the North in 1549; for we find 'Vedderburne's Complainte of Scotlande, vyth an exortatione to the three estaits to be vigilante in the deffens of their public veil.' The letter 'Z' continued its usurpation on the 'Y,' as in 'zeir,' 'zounge,' 'zouthe,' &c. &c. And the 'Qu' universally supplied the place of the 'W' when the 'V' was not admitted.

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#### NOTES.

in polemics. He supports the 'sal, bus, peris, polis, deminis,' &c. of the Scots, against the Southern 'shall, bush, perish, polish, diminish,' &c. The sounds, 'admeer, reteer, surveeve, and requeer,' he with some justice affirms to be softer than the 'admire, retire, survive, and require,' of the South. And he lays great stress on the power of forming expressive diminutives, as man, manny, manniky, and mannikin; and lass, lassy, lassiky, and lassikin; words no more confounded with each other than the capello, capelletto, cappellino, cappellone, and capellaccio, of the Italian. It is an undoubted fact, that the Scots have resisted the inroads of the Norman tongue with much more success than the English, who content themselves with applying, with the Norman, to a butcher (boucher) for veal, (veau) beef, (boeuf) or mutton, (mouton) or perhaps roast a fowl (poule.) But the Scot goes with the Saxon to the 'flesher,' buys flesh, or dresses a hen.

[TRANSACTIONS OF SCOTTISH ANTIQUARIES.]

It ought not to pass unobserved that, besides <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> the English language, and the Scottish dialect <sup>Three</sup> of the same tongue, there were spoken, within <sup>tongues</sup> the island of Great Britain, in the sixteenth <sup>spoken in</sup> century, three distinct tongues, or at least two <sup>Great</sup> languages and a dialect, each capable of expressing the beauties of poetry or prose with <sup>Britain.</sup> grace and energy.

Of the Cornish we now hear little. It has expired as a spoken tongue; but Dr. Borlase has preserved a few proverbs, such as

‘Tau tavas’ Hold thy peace, tongue!’

‘Guel yw guetha vel goofen.’ ‘It is better to save than to beg.’

The Cornish say, that in sweetness of sound <sup>The</sup> they excel the Welch; as in the word ‘stone,’ <sup>Cornish.</sup> which they call ‘Lêh,’ and the Welch ‘Lech.’ A lake too is in the more guttural Welch ‘Llwch,’ but in Cornish ‘Lûh.’\*

The Welch, on their side, by no means submit to this award. ‘Our language,’ says the <sup>The</sup> reverend author of a treatise on the subject, ‘is <sup>Welch.</sup> possessed of native ornaments and unborrowed treasures; it rivals the Greek in its aptitude to form the most beautiful derivatives ‘as well as in the elegance, fertility, and expressiveness, of an infinite variety of compounds, and deserves the praise that has been given to it by an

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\* Nat. Hist. of Cornwall, p. 314.

Cent. XVI. an enemy. Notwithstanding the multiplicity of gutturals and consonants with which it abounds, “it has the softness and harmony of the Italian, with the majesty and expression of the Greek.\*”

The following epigram on the silk worm, consisting of vowels, affords an example of astonishing melody of chosen words to those that can pronounce it with propriety.

‘ O’i wiw wy i weu e a, a’i weuau,  
O’i wyau y weua;  
E’ weua ei we aia’,  
A’i weuau yw ieuau iâ.’

Thus translated by Mr. Jones:

I perish by my art,  
Dig mine own grave;  
I spin my thread of life,  
My own death weave.\*

The Erse.

The Erse or Ersh language is said to have great powers of expression, both of the majestic and of the tender kind. It is still spoken throughout a large district of the North; and, from the great attention which has been shewn towards the reliques of its antient poetry, there happily appears no danger of its being lost.

The modern composition which follows, is given by Mr. Pennant ‡ as a specimen of the tongue.

The

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\* Walter’s Dissertation on the Welch Language. Printed at Cambridge.

† Jones’s Dissertation on Welch Music, &c. p. 54.

‡ Scottish Tour, Appendix, No. 4.

The celebrated epitaph by Ben Jonson on the <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup>  
countess of Pembroke:

Galic.

‘ An sho na luighe fo Lìc-lighe,  
Ha adh-bheann nan uille bhuadh,  
Mathair Phembroke, Piuthar Philip,  
Ans gach Daan bith’ orra luadh.  
A, Bhais mann gearr thu sios a coi-meas,  
Beann a dreach, sa h’ Juil, sa Fiach  
Bristidh do Bhogh, gun Fhave do shaighid  
Bithi-mar nach bith tu riamh.’

Epitaph.

‘ Underneath this marble hearse  
Lies the subject of all verse.  
Sidney’s sister, Pembroke’s mother :  
*Death*, ere thou hast kill’d another,  
Fair and learn’d, and good as she,  
*Time* shall throw a dart at thee.’

The taste for feasting and hospitality still con- English  
tinued to reign among the English who could hospita-  
afford it. [17] lity.

Those

#### NOTES.

[17] The Londoners did not always return with graci-  
ousness the hospitable reception their country friends had  
bestowed on them; on which ‘ the olde countrie clerkes framed  
this saeing,

‘ Primus jucundus,  
Tolerabilis estque secundus;  
Tertius est vanus,  
Sed foetet quatriduanus.’

[DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.

Paraphrased.

Cent. XVI.

Those of high rank had superb services of plate at their meals when they entertained visitors of importance. At other times they had complete sets of pewter to supply its place. Those of inferior rank sometimes had plate.

The men of quality, probably to excite them to hospitality, had each permission to import a considerable quantity of wine free from impost.\*

Silver  
vessels.

A scurrilous Frenchman, who visited London in 1553, and grossly abuses the whole nation, owns that 'the English use silver vessels in common to drink in; the servants,' he says, 'wait on their masters bareheaded, and leave their caps on the buffet. Their bread,' he owns, 'is whiter than that of France, and as cheap.' He adds, 'That they are fond of eating with their beer soft saffron cakes stuck with raisins, which add to its flavor.

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NOTES.

Paraphrased.

Four days to spend  
 With asking friend,  
     In London fair, I reckon'd:  
 The first in glee  
 Past merrily,  
     Not quite so well the second;  
 The cold third day  
 I saw display  
     A congé so explicit,  
 I left the place,  
 Nor gave him space  
     To bid me end my visit. J. P. A.

\* Lodge's Illustrations, vol. ii. p. 27.



flavor. The artisans,' he says, such as hatters Cent. XVI.  
and joiners, ' he perpetually sees on holidays,   
feasting in taverns on rabbits, hares, and such  
sorts of meat.'

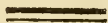
A more candid traveller, who wrote about thirty years later, says that 'the English are more polite than the French in eating, devouring less bread but more meat, which they roast in perfection. They put,' he adds, 'a great deal of sugar in their drink.'

That decent and cleanly utensil, the fork, was No forks.  
yet to be discovered. At every meal the fingers were used to keep the meat steady, and to convey it to the mouth. Spoons and knives seem coeval with Edward the Confessor,\* but forks were little known before the restoration.

Silence at table during the meal, is spoken of as a mark of good breeding.

Table cloths were made of very valuable linen. Fine table  
Mrs. Otter in Ben Jonson's 'Silent Woman,' linen.  
mentions a damask table-cloth which cost eighteen pounds. The good man of the house sat at the upper end of the board, 'with a fayre napkyn layde before him on the table, *lyke a master.*'†

Lamb,



\* See the print of Earl Godwin's death, in Strutt's Customs, &c.

† Hist. of John Wincheomb.

Cent. XVI.

Delicate  
meats.

‘Lamb, and a great variety of delicate [18] meates,\* from all quarters of the country,’ seem to mark the luxury of Elizabeth’s reign. ‘Now-a-days,’ writes the most caustic of puritans, ‘if the table be not pestered from one end to the other as thick as one dish can stand by another, and to every dish a several sauce, appropriate in its kind, it is thought unworthy the name of a dinner.’ ‘And at the third course beside, other sweet junkets, and delicate confections of spice-ries, and I cannot tell what.’ ‘A good peece of beefe is now thought too grosse for theyr tender stomachs to digest.’†

Desert.

A kind of desert was not unusual. Dr. Caius writes, that one should eat ‘after mete quinces or marmalade, pomegranates, oranges sliced, eaten with sugar; succate of the pilles or bark thereof, and of pomecitres; olde apples and peres; prunes, raisons, dates, and nutts,’ &c. &c.‡

In

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NOTES.

[18] Among these, brawn stood foremost. When Calais was taken by France, the quantity of that meat which was found in store puzzled the victors. They judged it to be a dainty; but in vain did they roast it, bake it, and boil it, still they could not make it eatable. Harrison, who tells this story, laughs at the friars who took it for fish, and at the Jews who would not believe that it was part of a hog.

[DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.

\* Harrison apud Holingshed, p. 166.

† Stubs’ *Anatomic of Abuses*, p. 69.‡ *Booke of Counseil*, &c. by Dr. John Caius, fol. 24.

In a still older work guests, when fasting, are to be presented with ‘butter, plommes, damsons, cheryes, and grapes. After mete, peres, nuttes, strawberyes, myrtle beryes, and hard chese; also braundrells or pepyns, with careways in confetes.’\* ‘Jellies of all colours, codinats, marmilats, suger-bread, ginger-bread, and florentines,’ are added by Harrison to the desert. Cent. XVI.

The degrees of bread were these: first, the manchet, which was the finest; next the chete or wheaten bread; then the ravelled bread, somewhat coarser; and then the brown bread, of two sorts, the one much inferior to the other. Different sorts of bread.

Breakfast was little used. If any thing was taken it was a glass of ale and a slice of bread. [19]


The hour of dinner with people of fortune was eleven before noon; and of supper, between five and six in the afternoon; while the merchants (contrary to modern ideas) took each of their meals an hour later; and the husbandman one hour still later than the merchants. We have reason to suppose that the dinners of the great were prolonged Hours of meals.

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#### NOTES.

[19] Sir Lionel Rash, in Green’s ‘Tu Quoque,’ a pleasant comedy of Elizabeth’s age, says, ‘I have sent my daughter this morning as far as Pimlico to fetch a draught of Derby ale, that it may fetch a colour into her cheeks.’

\* Boke of Kervynge, fol. 1, B.

Cent. XVI.  prolonged to a considerable space of time. [20]  
 Clearing of the table. When the dinner, desert, &c. were completely ended, a wooden knife was used instead of a cloth, to clear away the remnants, crumbs, &c. from the table. [21]

Rural food.

Hospitality is never supposed, by a poetical fancy, to be confined to the house of the great ; and Warner, a bard of Elizabeth's age, thus describes the reception of an earl in a cottage ; he  
 ' Did house him in a peakish grange, within a forest great ;

Where,

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#### NOTES.

[20] ' An Italian,' says Dr. Wilson, ' having a suit to the Archbishop of York, attempted to speak to his Grace, but unhappily chanced on a time when he was giving a state dinner to his prebendaries. At eleven he was just sat down to the splendid meal, nor could the Italian, although he called again at twelve, at one, and at two, prevail on the porter to let him see the prelate, who was still at dinner. Disgusted at the holy epicure, the suitor left his business in the hands of a friend, and returned to Italy. Three years after this, meeting an Englishman at Rome, and becoming his acquaintance, he asked him one day if he knew the Archbishop of York? ' Perfectly well,' said the Briton. ' Then tell me,' said the Italian, ' I beseech you, has he yet finished his dinner?' and related the story.'

[WILSON ON LOGIC AND RHETORIC.]

[21] Enter three or four serving men, one with a voyder and a *wooden knife* to take away.

STAGE DIRECTION IN 'A WOMAN KILLED WITH KINDNESS.'  
 Enter Custus with a *voyding knife* in his hand.

[LINGUA, ACT 5, SCENE 13.]

Where, known and welcomed as the place and persons could afforde, Cent. XVI.

Browne bread, whig, bacon, curds, and milke were set him on the borde.

A cushion made of lists, a stool half backed with a hoope,

Were brought him, and he sitteth down beside a sorry coope.

The poor old couple wish'd their bread were wheat, their whig were pery;

Their bacon beef, their milk and curds were creame to make him mery.'

In wines, the English of Elizabeth's age were uncommonly luxurious. Harrison mentions fifty-six sorts of French wines, and thirty-six of Spanish, Italian, Greek, Canarian, &c. which, to the quantity of 30,000 tons, were yearly imported. The strongest of these were always accounted the best.

'Furthermore,' says Harrison, 'when these have had their course that nature yeeldeth, sundrie sort of artificial stuffe must succede in their turn, such as ypcocras and wormwood wine, beside stale ale and strong beer.' To these we may add clarey or claret, [22] and braket.

'The

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#### NOTES.

[22] To amuse the epicure, the method of composing these favorite beverages shall be inserted from 'Arnold's Chronicle of London,' quoted by Mr. Strutt.



Cent. XVI.

‘ The strongest wine used,’ says the same writer, ‘ to be called “ Theologicum ;” and the laymen, when they wished to spend a singularly jovial hour, used to send for wine to the parson of the parish.\*

One custom of the sixteenth century deserves particular mention, since it is now upheld in Britain only among all the nations of the earth.

As

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NOTES.

‘ The crafte to make Ypocras.

‘ Take a quarte of red wyne, an unce of synamon, and half an unce of gynger ; a quarter of an unce of greynes and of longe pepper, wythe half a pound of sugar ; broie all these not too smalle, and then putte them in a bagge of wullen clothe (made therefore) with the wyne, and lette it hange over a vessel tyll the wyne be runne thorow.

N. B. It is presumed that the wine should be poured in boiling hot, else it would gain little of the spicy flavor.

‘ The crafte to make Clarre (or Claret.)

‘ For eighteen gallons of good wyne take half a pounce of gynger, a quarter of a pounce of longe pepper, an unce of saf-fron, a quarter of an unce of coliaunder, two unces of “ calo-mole dromaticus,” and a thyrd of as moche honey that is claryfied as of youre wyne ; strayne thym thro a clothe, and doo it into a clene vessel.’

‘ The crafte for Braket.

‘ When thou hast good ale, draw out a quart of it, and put it to the honey, and set it over the fyre, and let it see the well, and take it of the fyre and scume it wel, and so againe, and then let it keele a whyle, and put therto the peper, and set hym on the fyre, and let him boyle togyder, with esy fyre, but clere. To four gallons of good ale, put a pynte of fyne tryed honey, and a saucer full of poudre of peper.’

\* Harrison, apud Holingshed, p. 166.

‘As for drink it is not usually set on the table in pots and cruses, but each one calleth for a cup of such as he listeth to have, or as necessity urgeth; so that when he hath tasted of it, he delivereth the cup again to one of the standers-by, who, making it cleane, restoreth it to the cupboard from whence he had fetched the same.’\*

Cent. XVI.  
Method  
of drink-  
ing.

‘By this device,’ adds the author, ‘much idle tippling is furthermore cut off; for, if the full pots should continually stand at the elbow, or near the trencher, divers would alwaies be dealing with them; whereas now they drinke seldome, and onelie when necessitie urgeth; and so avoid the note of great drinking, or often troubling of the servitours with filling of their boles.’ [23] This peculiar custom is confirmed by the account given by Fynes Moryson.†

The beer used at the houses of noblemen, &c. was commonly a year old; sometimes two, when it came to the master’s table. It was called March beer, from the time of its brewing. The beer for the servants was seldom more than a month

Beer.

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#### NOTES.

[23] Our learned intelligencer, Harrison, proceeds to derive this salutary mode from the practice of Mnestheus of Athens, who, he ‘says, brought up the custom in conservation of the honor of Orestes,’ who had not yet expiated the slaughter of his mother, Clytemnestra.

[DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN.]

\* Harrison, p. 167.

† Itinerary, part iii. p. 150.

*Cent. XVI.* month old. ‘Ech one,’ says Harrison, ‘coveting to have the same as stale as he may, so that it be not sowre; and his bread new as possible, so that it be not hot.’

*Cider,  
&c.*

Cider or Pomage, and ‘Pirrie,’ seem to have been confined to their own native counties. And our intelligent author speaks with great contempt of a ‘kind of Irish-swash,’ [24] made in Essex; and called Mead.

Glasses (which came from Venice at a great expence) were more fashionable at great tables than silver cups.

*Scotland.*

*Ecclesiastic  
hospitality.*

Those vast sources of hospitality and encouragements to indolence, the religious houses, were, in Scotland, the first victims to the reformation. In one monastery at Perth, [25] where only eight monks resided, the followers of Knox discovered eight puncheons of salt beef; wine, beer, and ale, in proportion, besides abundance of bed clothes, and of table linen, singular in delicacy of

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#### NOTES.

[24] The Cambro-Britons had always been partial to this liquor; Dr. Andrew Borde makes his Welchman say,

‘I do love “cawse boby,” good toasted cheese;

And swyshe metheglin I loke for my fees.’

[25] The very nature of the ecclesiastical revenues prompted the monks to hospitality. The abbey of Holyrood received annually (besides money, wheat, barley, and oats) 500 capons, 24 hens, 24 salmon, 12 loads of salt, and large quantity of swine.

[ARNOT'S EDINBURGH.]

of texture. This plentiful store was meant to be shared with the hungry and weary traveller.\* Cent. XVI.

That the general hospitality of the Scots was no way inferior to that of the English, there is every reason to suppose. And such was the national turn to luxury, that, immediately after a severe restriction by act of parliament, placed 'on the excesse of coastelie cleithing,' † another statute ‡ follows, complaining of superfluous banqueting, [26] not only of sik stufte as grows within the realme, bot alsoe of drogges, confectoures, spice-ries brocht from the pairtes beyond sea, and sauld at dear prices to monie folke that are verie unabil to sustene that coaste; and laying a heavy fine (twenty pund) not only on the master of the house, but on every one of his guests, partakers of such banquet. Exceptions are made in favor of prelates, peers, and such as can spend 2000 markes annually.

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#### NOTES.

[26] Nor was this the earliest law against table-luxury. In 1551, an act had restrained, by very minute directions, the pleasures of the meal. In this an unkind distinction is made between the 'small persones' and people of rank. The former are fined, while the man of quality only suffers by being 'repute and haldane as ane man given to his voluptuousnes, and contemnar of authority, and not to the common weil.'

[STAT. 2, PARL. 5 MARIE.

\* Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 81.

† Stat. 113, Parl. 7 Jac. VI.

‡ Stat. 114, Parl. 7 Jac. VI.

cent. XVI.

Custom  
of board-  
ing pro-  
hibited.

It must not however be concealed, that, in 1580, either from their sufferings by civil contests, or from their former extravagance in household expences, the country gentlemen of Scotland had in some parts found house-keeping too costly, and had boarded themselves out in ‘ burrows, townes, clauchannes, and aile-houses, with their house-haldes;’ others remaining in their own houses ‘ buirded themselves and others, to their awin servands, as in hostillaries.’ A statute,\* made on this occasion, sets this practice forth as ‘ an unhonest forme, and a great abuse, contrair the honor of the realme,’ and lays a heavy fine on all persons (according to their rank) that practise the same.

Young  
cattle  
preserved.

The luxury of the table must have suffered by a seasonable restriction in 1584, when, ‘ in respect of the dearth and scarcity of all kind of fleshes,’ the prohibition of eating meat, during the season of Lent, is renewed by act of parliament; and all persons are forbidden to kill or eat either ‘ lambes or young vealles’ before Whitsunday each year, under a heavy penalty, which was extended ‘ ass weil against the eaters as against flesshoures, cuikes, hostellares, and uthers, preparers thereof.’†

The military men were no way deficient in good living. After the fight of Pinkie or Musselburgh, the victors found in the Scottish camp ‘ oatmeal,

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\* Stat. 116, Parl. 7 Jac. VI. † Stat. 225, Parl. 14 Jac. VI.



meal, oat-cakes, butter, cheese, ale, and wine;’ <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup>  
 and in some tents ‘silver plate and chalices.’\*

The Scots, says an English traveller of Elizabeth’s age, ‘drink pure wines, not with sugar, as the English do; at feasts they put comfits in their wine as the French do.’† He proceeds to describe the plenty and variety of wines at a Northern table, and the hearty use which is made of them, in a manner more to the honor of the hospitality, than the moderation of the entertainers. <sup>Abundance of wine.</sup>

Yet his description of the cookery and tables of the Scottish gentlemen is not flattering. [27] ‘They eat,’ he says, ‘little fresh meat, and salt their geese and their mutton, but not their beef.’ And there appears, in the board which he describes,

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### NOTES.

[27] The following account of a sportsman’s hasty meal was perhaps grounded on one of those half-intended mistakes which foreigners, and particularly the French, are apt to make, when describing the manners of other countries:

M. de Montmorenci was told by the Vidam de Chartres, afterwards poisoned by Catharine di Medicis, (who resided some time in the North, and was very popular there) that, after hunting, the Scots were used to take part of their game, and, after cutting it into thin slices, to squeeze it between hasel rods until it was thoroughly dry, and that then they used to eat it with bread, but with no farther dressing.

[BRANTOME. VIC. DE CHARTRES.]

\* Holingshed’s Eng. Chron. p. 988.

† Fynes Moryson’s Itinerary, p. 156.

Cent.XVI. scribes, a great want of variety, though not of quantity. [28]

England. The close of the eighth Henry's reign had left  
Dress. the fantastical [29] Englishman in profession of  
the doublet, the petticoat, and the breeches, disgraced by the 'braguette,' and stuffed out to an enormous size with horse-hair and cotton. The modern

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NOTES.

[28] That the Caledonian board may have fair play, here follows a list of the dainties and delicacies protected by act of parliament, each by name, and (as there is good reason to believe) plentiful throughout the land: 'Fallowe deare, daes, raes, hares, partridges, moore fowles, blacke cockes, aith hennes, (a) termagants, (b) wyld dukes, teilles, atteilles, goldings, mortyns, schydderenis, skaildrak, (c) heron, butter,' &c. &c.

[STAT. 23, PARL. 16 JAC. VI.]

[29] An eccentric bard of the age thus satirizes the changeable nature of the Englishman as to dress; he draws him naked with cloth in one hand, but uncertain how he shall shape it with the sheers which he holds in the other. Beneath are these lines:

'I am an Englishman, and naked I stand here,  
Musynge in my mind what raymente I shall were;  
For now I wyll were thys, and now I wyll were that,  
And now I wyll were I cannot tell *what*.  
What doe I care if alle the worlde me fayle?  
I will have a garment reache to my tayle.  
Then am I a mynyon, for I wear the new guise,  
The next yeare after I hope to be wyse;  
Not onely in wercing my gorgeous araye,  
But I wyll goe a leamyng a whole sumer's daye,' &c.

[INTRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE BY DR. ANDREW BORDE.]

(a) Heath. (b) Ptarmigans. (c) Sheldrake.

modern beef-eater (as he is vulgarly styled from <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> 'buffetier') dresses nearly in the same mode, though with less indecency and absurdity.

To exemplify beyond a doubt the enormous <sup>Gar-</sup> and cumbersome folly of the fashion, an inge- <sup>ments e-</sup> nious modern writer produces evidence from a <sup>normous-</sup> ly studied.

MS in the Harleian collection to prove that there actually was a scaffold erected round the inside of the parliament-house for the accommodation of such members as wore those huge breeches; and that the said scaffold was taken down\* when, in the eighth of Elizabeth, those absurdities went [30] out of fashion.

Numberless

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NOTES.

[30] This foolish mode, though it sunk in 1565, yet rose again in the commencement of the next age, when it was lashed by a ballad, entitled 'A lamentable Complaint of the poore Countryeman agaynste Greate Hose, for the Loss of their Cattelles Tales.' The following extract from this piece will show its tendency, and testifie its humour.


'What hurt, what damage, doth ensue,  
And fall upon the poore,  
For want of wool and flax of late,  
Which monstrous hose devoure.  
The haire has so possess'd of late  
The bryche of ev'ry knave,  
That not one beaste nor horse can tell  
Whyche waye his taile to save.'

It closes thus:

'I woulde that such as weare thys haire  
Were well and truly bound,

Wyth

\* Strutt's Customs, &c. vol. iii. p. 85.

Cent. XVI.  Numberless were the jokes made upon this  
 Ridiculed preposterous dress. ‘A man,’ says Bulmer,\*  
 ‘being cited to answer for offending against the  
 sumptuary law which prohibited such garments,  
 declared that they formed his safest storehouse;  
 and produced from within, sheets, two table-  
 cloths, ten napkins, four shirts, and abundance  
 of linen and other necessities; saying, he had  
 yet great store behind. So the judge laughed  
 and dismissed him.’

The cloak, which surmounted the whole, was  
 varied as to shape and materials according to the  
 wearer’s fancy. It was made of silk, satin, or  
 stuff, and was either buttoned or tied over the  
 shoulder. Before the close of the century it  
 became usually ornamented with silk, gold, and  
 silver embroidery.

The hat had but just superseded the woollen  
 cap and the hood, and had not acquired any cer-  
 tain fashion.

Large  
 beards.

The beard, in the reign of Mary I. throve  
 abundantly; [31] those of Bishop Gardiner and  
 of

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#### NOTES.

With every haire a louse to have,  
 To stuffe their bryches oute;  
 And then I truste they would not weare  
 Nor beare suche bagges aboute.’

[31] The beard was sometimes used in the sixteenth cen-  
 tury as a tooth-pick case. The celebrated Admiral Coligny  
 always

\* Pedigree of the English Gallant, p. 548.

of Cardinal Pole, in their portraits, are of a Cent. XVI.  
 most uncommon size. The lawyers alone had a  
 regulation imposed on this important feature.\*

Shirts were articles of great expence, and elegance. They were made of ‘camericke, Hollande, lawne, or els of the finest cloth that may be got.’ And were so wrought with ‘needleworke of silke, and so curiously stitched with other knackes besides, that their price would sometimes amount to ten pounds. But this luxury was not at its height + until near the close of the century.

No part of the English dress varied more suddenly than the shoes, which, during the short reign of Mary, were increased so unreasonably in breadth at the front, that (says Bulmer in his ‘Pedigree of the English Gallant’) ‘if I remember aright, there was a proclamation came out that “no man should weare his shoes above sixe inches square at the toes.”’

Towards the close of the century the dress was again altered in many respects. The hat became more gay in appearance; it was covered with silk or velvet, but the beaver hat was the most expensive,

Change  
of fash-  
ions in  
1566.

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#### NOTES.

always ‘wore his tooth-pick,’ says Brantome, ‘in his mouth, his ear, or his beard, whence the Italians used to say, ‘Dio mi guarda del animo e stecco del amiraglio.’

[VIE DE CONDE PAR BRANTOME.

\* Dugdale’s Orig. Judiciales, apud Gaigner, vol. i. p. 288.

+ Stubs’ Anatomie of Abuses, p. 27.



Cent. XVI. expensive, as it cost from thirty to forty shillings. There were taffeta hats worn, with ‘monsters, antiques, beastes, fowles, and all manner of pictures,’ embroidered with silk, gold, and silver.\*

The crown of the hat now grew high, and narrowed towards the top, and had sometimes a rich hat-band, adorned by goldsmith’s work and precious stones, [32] which, with a feather and a scarlet cloke, marked the man of distinction. The wearing of felt hats was a much more ancient custom than is in general supposed. They are spoken of in Lydgate’s ‘London Lickenpennie;’ [33] a poem made at the close of the fifteenth century.

A hat of black velvet, with a red feather and band, was fashionable in 1571.†

The hair was now cut close on the top of the head, and grew long on the sides.‡

Jewels

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#### NOTES.

[32] ‘My hat-band. A row of diamonds of a thousand markes!’ [THE WITTS.]

‘I had on a new cable hat-band, of massie goldsmith’s work, then new come up, which I wore about a murrey French hat, the brims of which were thick enbroidered with gold twist and spangles.’ [EVERY MAN OUT OF HIS HUMOUR.]

[33] ‘Where Flemynges began on me for to crye :

“Master what will you chepen or bye?

Fine *felt hats* or spectacles to rede?

Lay down your sylver and here you may spede.”

[LYDGATE.]

\* Stubs’ *Anatomic of Abuses*, p. 25.

† *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. i. p. 117.

‡ Hentzner apud *Fugitive Pieces*, vol. ii. p. 300.

Jewels were sometimes worn in the ear by <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> shewy young men, [34] and sometimes ribbands.

The beard was exceedingly lessened, [35] and <sup>Beards lessened.</sup> gradually dwindled into mustachos [36] or whiskers.

An old historian thus descants on the various <sup>Satirized.</sup> beards of his age: 'Some are shaven from the chin lyke those of the Turkes; not a few cut short like the beard of Marques Otto; some made round

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#### NOTES.

[34] Master Matthew, in 'Every Man in his Humour,' proposes to 'pawn the jewel in his ear' to pay for the warrant against Downright. Fastidio, in 'Every Man out of his Humour,' boasts of his mistress favors, 'this scarf, or this ribband for my ear or so.' The poet Gascoigne, as he draws his own picture, presenting his book to Elizabeth, has a still different ear ornament, a pen; and thus he sings:

'Beholde, good queene, a poett with a speare,

(Straundge sightes well mark'd are understode the better)

A soldier armde with pensyle in his eare;

With pen to fighte, and sworde to write a letter.'

[FRONTISPIECE TO GASCOIGNE'S TRANSLATION  
OF 'THE HEREMYTE.']

[35] Yet the Reverend John More of Norwich continued, during the reign of Elizabeth, to display a most enormous beard; 'That no act of my life,' said he, 'may be unworthy of the gravity of my appearance.'

[36] Very early in the 17th century, M. de Bouteville, condemned to lose his head for a duel at Paris, was severely reprimanded by the priest who attended his last moments, for taking great pains to lay his mustachos on the block in such a position that the axe might not discompose them.

[ESSAIS DE ST. FOIX.]

Cent. XVI. round like a rubbing brush, others with a pique devan; Oh, fine fashion! others being suffered to grow long; the barbers being grown as cunning in this behalfe as the taylours. And therefore if a man have a leane and streight face, a Marquis Otton's cut will make it broad and large; if it be platter-like, a long slender beard will make it seem the narrower; if he be weasel-beaked, then so much haire left on the cheekes will make the owner look big like a bowdled hen, and so grymme as a goose,' &c.\*

Ruff enlarged.

The ruff became large, but not so much so as that of the ladies; it was sometimes double, sometimes wired, and sometimes stiffened with yellow starch. It exceeded all bounds so far that at length it caught the eye of the exact Elizabeth; who, equally displeased with that monstrous garb, and with the length of the rapier of the day, directed officers to attend, and to clip the ruffs and shorten the swords of offenders against her rules.†

Its size regulated.

Stuffed clothes are seen no more.

The thick and stuffed garment now was diminished to a long jacket [36] like a waistcoat, made of

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#### NOTES.

[36] Yet of this reformed garment the querulous Stubs complains, as being 'so hard-quilted, stuffed, bombasted, and sewed, as they can neither worke nor yet well play in them;' nor can the wearer, 'bow himself to the ground, so stiff and sturdy they stand about him.' [ANATOMIE OF ABUSES.

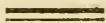
\* Harrison's Description of Britaine, p. 172.

† Townshend's Journals, p. 250.

of silk or satin, with a large cape and long close sleeves. The petticoat disappeared; and the breeches, having discarded their indelicate and burlesque appendage, ended far above the knee, [37] where they were met by a stocking, not woven to fit the leg, but cut out by a taylor from ‘silk, velvet, damaske, or other precious stoffe.’\* The cost of this part of the dress was incredibly high.

The venerable Harrison is laudably severe on the pains necessarily taken to make this ungovernable hose sit smoothly on the leg. ‘Then,’ says he, ‘must the long seames of our hose be set by a plumb-line; then we puffle, then we blow, finally we sweat till we drop, that our clothes may stand well upon us.’

Roses of very high prices were frequently worn on the shoes of fashionable men. Sometimes the shoes had buckles of silver or copper gilt.+ The garters cost no more than six shillings the pair, which in the next reign was hardly bought for five pounds. The corked shoes, pantofles, or pinsnets, were often of velvet, embroidered



## NOTES.

[37] ‘Nailor came through London apparelled in a doublet and galey-gascoigne (a) breeches, all of crimsin sattin, cut and raced.’ [ANTOQUAR. REPERT. VOL. I.

\* Anatomie of Abuses, p. 30.

+ Stowe’s Chron. p. 1039.

(a) Hence the ludicrous word ‘Gallygaskins.’

Cent. XVI. embroidered with gold or silver; and it was the mode to let the heel project an inch or two beyond that of the pantofle,\* much to the inconvenience of the wearer.

The swords and daggers were richly gilt, the blades damasked, and the scabbards covered with velvet.

The dress of the servant seems to have depended more on the master's caprice than on the fashion. [38]

Head-  
dress  
of the  
ladies.

The head-dress of the ladies varied much during the age of Elizabeth.

The fly-cap, which was fashionable in 1770, when formed of pearls, was the exact head-dress of

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#### NOTES.

[38] A runaway page was thus described in the reign of Elizabeth :

‘ These are to pray you, &c. to macke hew and cry for a yonge stripling aged twenty-two years, with one doblet of yellow million fustion, the one half buttoned with peche coloured buttons, the other half laced downwards. One payer of peche coloured hose, laced with small tawnye lace. A graye hat, with a copper edge round it; a pair of watched stockinges. He hath two clokes, the one of vessey collar, garded with two yards of black cloth and twisted lace of carnacyon collar, and lined with crimsone bayes; the other is a red shipp russet colour, striped about the cape; and down the fore face twisted with two rows of twisted lace; russet and gold buttons afore and upon the sholdier, being of the clothe itself, set with the said twisted lace, and the buttons of russet silk and gold.’

[ANTIQU. REPERTORY, VOL. II.

\* Anatomie of Abuses, p. 32.



of her court\* ladies. Some ladies had a small Cent. XVI.  
cap with a veil, which was thrown behind the  
neck. Some had [39] vast loads of false hair;  
others wore the hair entirely uncovered and  
braided behind. Aldermen's† wives had bon-  
nets of velvet, large and shewy. A favorite  
covering for the head was the 'French hood,'  
which appears to have been a gauze or muslin  
hood, shewing the hair on each side, and drawn  
from the back of the head down the forehead.‡  
The 'Minever cap,' which was white and three-  
cornered, and whose peaks stood three inches  
above the head, was chiefly worn by citizens'  
wives. Chains and bracelets were ornaments  
used mostly by women of rank.

The ruffs, made of lawn and cambrick, were Vast ruffs  
immoderately large, and stiffened with [40]

x 2

yellow

### NOTES.

[39] About 1595 such quantities of false hair were worn,  
that women were on the watch to seduce children who had fine  
hair to private places, that they might poll their locks.

[STUBS' ANATOMIE OF ABUSES.

'Stowe informs us that women's periwigs were first brought  
into England about the time of the massacre of Paris, A. D.  
1572.'

[MR. STEEVENS' NOTES ON TIMON OF ATHENS.

'That beaver band, the colour of that periwig,

(A mad world, my masters.)'

[40] A Mrs. Dingen Van Plesse introduced both yellow  
starch and the use of lawn for ruffs. It was so very fine that

'it

\* See Frontispiece to Cary Earl of Monmouth's Memoirs.

† Strutt's Customs, &c. vol. iii. plate 12, fig. 5 and 9.

‡ Ibid. vol. iii. plate 22, fig. 9.

Cent. XVI. yellow starch. They reached to the upper part of the head behind, and the ‘poking of them’ gracefully was a most important attainment. [41]

The waist became enormously long; and the bodice or stays finished with a most extended point in front at bottom. To set this deforming fashion in a more glaring light, the upper part of the gown, near the shoulders, appears to be enlarged considerably by wool or other stuffing.

Fardingale.

The fardingale, a Spanish petticoat, bulky over the hips, now went out of fashion; it had probably been introduced during the connection of Philip and Mary; the most fashionable ones were the Scottish fardingales. Howel intimates that this fashion was invented to screen unlicensed pregnancy; and translates the Spanish ‘guard-infanta’ by the term ‘cover-infant;’ probably an error, as ‘infanta’ in the Spanish tongue means ‘princess.’

Of

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#### NOTES.

‘it became a bye-word,’ says Stowe, “That shortly they would wear ruffles of a spider’s web.” Soon after the ladies began to send their daughters and kinswomen to learn the art of starching; she received four or five pounds for teaching these to starch, and twenty shillings for teaching them ‘to see the starche.’

[41] The ill-natured Puritans of the day exult in picturing ‘a shoure of raine to catch them (the wearers of such ruffs) before they can get harbour; then theyre great ruffles stryke sayle, and downe they falle, as dish-clouts fluttering in the winde.’

Of this part of female attire the humorous Cent. XVI.  
 Heywood thus sings :

‘ On the Fashion of wearing Verdingales.

‘ Alas! poor verdingales must lie i’ th’ streete;  
 To house them no doore i’ th’ citee’s made  
 meete.

Syns at our narrow doores they cannot win,\*  
 Send them to Oxforde at Brode-gate to get in.’

Perfumed gloves, ornamented with tuftes of Gloves.  
 rose-colored silk, were so much the delight of Elizabeth that she would always be drawn with her favorite pair (presented by Vere, Earl of Oxford, returned from Italy) on her hands. Silk stockings, too, came in with Elizabeth: † Mrs. Montagu, her silk-woman, having presented her with a pair of black silk hose in 1560, she would never wear cloth stockings again. Her father Henry had worn cloth hose, and her brother Edward; unless once when Sir Thomas Gresham gave him a pair of Spanish black silk. Knit stockings were first introduced to the English court by William, Earl of Pembroke. A pair had been presented to him by William Rider, an apprentice near London-bridge, who made them in imitation of a pair brought from Mantua.

The pocket-handkerchiefs of the ladies were frequently wrought with gold and silver, and  
 their

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\* Go in. † Howel’s Hist. of the World, vol. ii. p. 222.

Cent. XVI. their shifts were richly embroidered. [42] The chopine [43] or chiopina is sometimes mentioned; it was an Italian shoe, with a heel ridiculously high.

The travelling dress of a lady was a large cloke and a safe-guard [44] or huge outward petticoat.

Dress of Elizabeth When Paul Hentzner saw Elizabeth (she was in her 67th year) 'she had in her ears two pearls with very rich drops. She wore false hair, and that red; her bosom was uncovered, as all the English ladies,' says Hentzner, 'have till they marry.

#### NOTES.

[42] In the old ballad of George Barnwell, it is said of Milwood:

'A handkerchief she had  
All wrought with beaten gold;  
Which she to stay her trickling tears  
Before her eyes did hold.'

[REL. OF ANT. ENGLISH POETRY.

And in the antient ditty of Lord Thomas and fair Annette, that lady says,

'My maids go to my dressing-room,  
And dress me to my smock;  
The one half is o' th' Holland fine,  
The other o' needle wo'k.'

[STRUTT'S CUSTOMS.

[43] 'As if her new chopines would scorn to bruise  
A silly flower.' [RAM ALLEY, ACT 5. SC. 1.

[44] 'The gentlewomen in cloaks and safeguards.'

[STAGE DIRECTION. MERRY DEVIL OF EDMONTON, ACT 1.

'On with your cloak and safeguard, you arrant drab!'

[RAM ALLEY, ACT 1. SC. 1.

marry. She was dressed in white silk, bordered Cent. XVI.  
 with pearls of the size of beans; and over it a  
 mantle of black silk, shot with silver threads;  
 [45] and, instead of a chain, she had an oblong  
 collar of gold and jewels.\*

At her death, that lady had in her possession,  
 3000 complete habits.

The dress of Lord Darnley, as taken from an Scotland.  
 original painting by Vertue, dated 1563, consists  
 of a close-bodied coat, covering his whole neck, Royal  
 with sleeves stuffed at the shoulders like those of habits.  
 Elizabeth's courtiers. He has a small Spanish  
 ruff, short curled hair, and a jewel hanging from  
 his neck as low as his stomach.

At the wedding of Queen Mary with Lord  
 Darnley, 'she had upon her back the great  
 mourning gown of black, with the great wide  
 mourning hood,' which she soon abandoned, and,  
 'being committed to her ladies, changed her  
 garments.'†

David Rizzio, who was probably, as being often Court  
 admitted to the company of the queen, a model dress.  
 of

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#### NOTES.

[45] 'Wherever she turned her face,' adds Hentzner, 'as  
 she went along, every one fell down on his knees;' her father  
 had been treated with the same deference; James I. suffered his  
 courtiers to omit it; one instance (among a thousand, of the *best*  
 of the Tudor's superiority in despotism to the most imperious  
 of the Stuarts.

[BACON PAPERS.]

\* Hentzner apud Dodsley, vol. ii. p. 274.

† Robertson's History, Appendix, p. 26.




Cent. XVI. of dress to the Scottish court, 'had upon his back, when he was slayn, a night-gown of damask, furred, with a sattin doublet, and a hose of russet velvet;' of these velvet hose he had twenty-eight pair in store. 'We hear also,' says the letter writer, 'of a juill that he had hanging about his neck of some price,\* &c.

Dress of  
different  
ranks.

'The husbandman of Scotland, the servants, and almost all the country,' says one who visited that realm in 1598, 'did wear coarse cloth, made at home, of grey or sky color, and flat blew caps, very broad. The merchants in cities were attired in English or French cloth, of a pale colour, or mingled black and blew. The gentlemen did wear English cloth, or silke, or light stuffes, little or nothing adorned with silk lace, much less with lace of silver or gold. Gentlewomen married did wear close upper bodies, after the German manner, with large whalebone sleeves, after the French manner, short cloaks like the Germans, French hoods, and large falling bands, about their necks. The unmarried of all sorts did go bare-headed, and wear short cloaks, with most close linen sleeves on their arms like the virgins of Germany. The inferior sort of citizens' wives, and the women of the country, did wear cloaks of a coarse stuff, of two or three colours in checker work, vulgarly called "Plodan." The men, he adds, in general follow

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\* Robertson's History, Appendix, p. 32.

follow the French, and the women of German <sup>Cent.XVI.</sup> fashion, with 'naked heads, and close sleeves on their arms.\*' 

The gayest dress of a considerable farmer's <sup>Of a rich</sup> wife may be well made out from a poetic tale, <sup>farmer's</sup> <sup>wife.</sup> supposed to be written by William Dunbar about the middle of the sixteenth century.

'Scho castis on ane kyrtyl of fyne reid,  
Ane quhyt curchey scho cast upon hir heid;  
Hir kyrtyl belt was silk and silver fyne,  
With ane proud purs, and keyis giugling syne;  
On ilkane fyngar scho wars ringis tuo,  
Scho was als proud as ony papingo.  
And of ane burde of silk, richt costlie grein,  
Her tusche was with silver weil besene,' &c.

#### Modernized.

'In a rich scarlet robe her form she dight,  
While o'er her head she cast a hood so white.  
A belt with silver wrought, her gown attended,  
Whence a gay purse and gingling keys de-  
pended.  
Each taper finger two bright rings bestride,  
No plum'd macaw can match the dame for  
pride.  
A sash of grass-green silk surrounds her waist,  
With high embroidery of silver grac'd,' &c.

J. P. A.

Stephen

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\* Moryson's Itinerary, part iii, p. 179, 180.

Cent. XVI.

Stephen Perlet, who travelled through Scotland in 1553, found no difference between the common people of England and of Scotland, as he expresses it, ‘in dress, conditions, or stature.’\*

England. Coaches and caroches are both mentioned as  
Caroches. being in use. Though apparently synonymous, these were different [46] vehicles, the one larger than the other.

Coaches, it has already been said, were introduced to England [47] by the Earl of Arundel.

The

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#### NOTES.

[46] ‘May’st draw him to the keeping of a *coach*  
For country, and *caroch* for London.’

[GREEN’S “TU QUOQUE.”]

‘In horse-litters, coaches, or caroches.’

[RAM ALLEY, OR MERRY TRICKS, ACT 4, SC. 1.]

[47] The following quotation from a late ingenious ‘Inquiry into the Origin, &c. of Heraldry in England,’ by Mr. Dallaway, deprives the earl of this species of merit, and carries the use of coaches kept by dignified clergymen, and painted, as now, with the arms which they could claim, back to A. D. 1327: ‘Iste tum abbas *suo curru honorificè ornato cum armis ejusdem ecclesiæ depictis*, eum a castello de Berkeley adduxit, et ad monasterium Glouc. est delatus.’ This is taken from the manuscript register of the abbey of Gloucester.

Taylor, the water poet, attributes the introduction of coaches, in 1564, to William Bloomer, a Dutchman, who became coachman to Queen Elizabeth. ‘Indeed,’ quoth Taylor, ‘a coach was a strange monster in those days, and the sight of it put both

horse

\* Antiquarian Repertory, vol. i. p. 236.

The novelty and convenience of the plan gave <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> so much pleasure to the people of fortune, that, in 1601, the number of them becoming enormous, an act was proposed 'to restrayne the immoderate use of "Coches;"' it failed however at the second reading. But these luxurious machines were only used by the rich; and hackney coaches were not known till fifty years afterwards.

Numbers of domestics were still in request, although retainers were not permitted. <sup>Numerous domestics.</sup>

'The English,' says Hentzner, 'are lovers of shew, liking to be followed wherever they go by whole troops of servants, who wear their master's arms in silver, fastened to their left arms.\*'

The post-horses of England astonished the German traveller by their swiftness. 'Their bridles,' he observes, 'are very light, and their saddles little more than a span over.†'

It has been said before that the first general statute for repairing the highways of England passed in 1555.‡ Six more acts in Mary's reign, <sup>Convenient travelling.</sup> <sup>First statute for mending highways.</sup>

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#### NOTES.

horse and foot into amazement. Some said it was a great crab-shell brought out of China; and some thought it one of the Pagan temples in which the Cannibals adored the divell. But at last all these doubts were cleared up, and coach making became a substantial trade.'

\* Hentzner in Fug. Pieces, vol. ii. p. 300.

† Ibid. p. 241.

‡ Stat. 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, cap. 8.

Cent. XVI. reign, and nineteen in that of Elizabeth, on the same subject, prove the difficulty of bringing the highways into good order.

Commo- No species of commodity was more apparent  
dious fur- in England than that in the article of furniture,  
niture. and particularly in what related to beds.

‘ Our fathers, yea and we ourselves,’ writes Harrison, ‘ have lien full oft upon straw pallets, on rough mats, covered only with a sheat, under coverlets made of dogswayne or hop-harlot, and a good round log laid under their heads instead of a bolster or pillow. And if the good man of the house, within seven yeares after his marriage, purchased a matteress or a flock bed, and thereto a sacke of chaffe to rest his head on, he thought himself as well lodged as the lord of the towne. As for servantes, seldome had they anie sheat under their bodies to keepe them from the prick-ing straves that ran through the canvas of the pallet, and rased their hardened hydes.’ This, and the extreme rusticity and deficiencie of all furniture the observant historian contrasts with the ‘ great provision of tapestrie, Turkey worke, joined beds, with tapestrie and silk hangings,’ &c.

English  
inns de-  
scribed.

The English inns are spoken of with great approbation by Hentzner. Fynes Moryson too, a traveller of established veracity, makes their simple eulogy as follows :

‘ As



‘ As \* soone as a passenger comes to an inne, <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> the servants run to him, and one takes his horse and walkes him till he be cold, then rubs him down and gives him meat. Another servant gives the passenger his private chamber, and kindles his fire; the thirds pulls off his bootes and makes them cleane; then the host or hostess visits him; and if he will eate with the hoste, or at a common table with others, his meale will cost him six-pence, or in some places but four-pence; but if he will eate in his chamber he commands what meate he will according to his appetite; yea the kitchen is open to him to order the meate to be dressed as he likes beste. After having eaten what he pleases, he may, with credit, set by a part for the next day’s breakfast. His bill will then be written for him, and, should he object to any charge, the host is ready to alter it.’

The same traveller complains not of the inns <sup>Inns of Scotland.</sup> in Scotland, but says, that ‘ the beds were like cupboards in the wall, and that they had only one sheet, open at the sides and top, and closed at the bottom;’ viz. a long sheet doubled over.

On the interesting subject of courtship, there <sup>Courtship.</sup> appears a remark in a MS belonging to the Harleian library, which possesses a delicacy which we unwillingly allow to the sixteenth century: ‘ By the civil law, whatever is given “ ex sponsalitia largitate,

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\* Moryson’s Itinerary, part iii. p. 151.

Cent. XVI. largitate, betwixt them that are promised in marriage," hath a condition, for the most part silent, that it may be had again if marriage ensue not; but if the man should have had a kiss for his money he should lose one half of what he gave. Yet with the woman it is otherwise; for kissing or not kissing, whatever she gave, she may have it again.\*

Wed-  
dings.

Among people of condition, weddings appear to have been solemnized with shew and gaiety. In the 'Silent Woman' of Ben Jonson, Lady Haughty reproaches the bridegroom thus: 'We see no ensigns of a wedding here, no character of a bridale here. Where be our skarves and our gloves? I pray you give them us; let us know your bride's colours and your's, at least.' Then she proceeds: 'You to offend in such a high point of ceremony as this! and let your nuptials want all marks of solemnity! What plate have you lost to-day! [48] what gifts! what friends! and all through your rusticity.' She adds, 'I intimate all your errors to you; no gloves, no garters, no skarves, no epithalamium, no masque,' &c. &c.

Of

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#### NOTES.

[48] Hence it seems to have been usual to make presents to the married pair, in proportion to the gay appearance of their wedding.

\* Extract, apud Strutt's Customs, vol. iii. p. 155.

Of an inferior couple we \* are told, ‘ the bride <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> being attired in a gown of sheep’s russet, and a <sup>Inferior.</sup> kirtle of fine worsted, her hair attired with a’ bil-  
liment of gold, and her hair as yellow as gold  
hanging down behind her, which was curiously  
combed and plaited after the manner of those  
days; she was led to church between two sweet  
boys, with bridelaces and [49] rosemary tied  
about their silken sleeves. There was a fair  
bride-cup [50] of silver, gilt, carried before her,  
wherein was a goodly branch of rosemary, gilded  
very fair, hung about with silken ribbands of all  
colours.’ Musicians came next, then a groupe of  
maidens, some bearing great bride-cakes, others  
garlands of wheat finely gilded; and thus they  
passed on to the church.’

The thorough rustic wore, on his wedding day,  
‘ a leather doublet with long pointes, and a pair  
of

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NOTES.

[49] Rosemary was supposed to strengthen memory, and was  
not only carried as funerals, but worn at weddings.

[MR. STEEVENS’ NOTES ON HAMLET, ACT 4, SC. 5.

‘ Besides, the same rosemary that serves for the funeral will  
serve for the wedding.’ [THE OLD LAW, ACT 4, SC. 1.

‘ *Phis.* Your master is to be married to-day?

*Trim.* Else all this rosemary is lost.’

[THE FAIR QUARREL, ACT 5, SC. 1.

[50] The cup had wine in it, which was to be drank in the  
church.

‘ And Peter, when we are at church, bring wine and cakes.’

[DEKKER’S SATIROMASTIX.

\* Hist. of Jack of Newbury, 4to, chap. ii. not paged.

**Cent. XVI.** of breeches pinn'd up like pudding-bags, with yellow stockings, and his hat turn'd up with a silver clasp on the leer-side.\*

**Early  
marri-  
ages.**

One might suppose, by the invectives used by a satirical writer,† against early marriages, that it was the custom, among all ranks, to marry at an age ridiculously early. [51] But this is not confirmed by any of his contemporaries.

**Scotland.** In Scotland nothing could be freer from ceremony than a wedding. Sir George Mackenzie, who wrote in an early part of the seventeenth century, says, 'It is not necessary that marriage should be celebrated by a clergyman. The consent of parties may be declared before any magistrate, or simply before witnesses. And though no formal consent should appear, marriage is presumed from the cohabitation, or living together at bed and board, of a man and a woman who are generally reputed husband and wife. One's acknowledgement of his marriage to the midwife whom

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#### NOTES.

[51] 'You shall have every saucy boy of ten, fourteene, sixteene, or twenty yeares of age, catch up a woman and marry her, without any feare of God at all, or respect had either to her religion, wisdom,' &c. 'No, no, it maketh no matter for these things, so he have his prettie pussie-to huggle withal, for that is the only thing he desireth.'

[ANATOMIE OF ABUSES.

\* Jonson's Tale of a Tub.

† Stubs' Anatomie of Abuses, p. 65.

whom he called to his wife, and to the minister Cent. XVI.  
 who baptized the child, was found presumptive  
 evidence of a marriage, without the aid either of  
 cohabitation or of ‘habite and repute.’\*

Among the customs of the sixteenth century Tobacco.  
 there was not one more prominent, nor more  
 lasting, than that of smoking, or (as it was the  
 mode to call it) *taking* tobacco.

This herb, introduced by the Spaniards to Europe about the middle of the age, was called, in France, ‘Nicotiana,’ from Nicot, the ambassador to Portugal,† who presenting a specimen of it to Catharine di Medicis, it gained the additional title of ‘the Queen’s Herb.’

It reached England in 1586, imported by the remains of Sir Walter Raleigh’s unfortunate settlers in Virginia. Sir Walter himself was one of its first admirers, but for some time preserved great secrecy in his attachment. By a ridiculous accident [52] the foible was discovered;‡ Sir  
Walter

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#### NOTES.

[52] Sir Walter, as his biographers relate, was enjoying his pipe in solitude, forgetful that he had ordered his servant to attend him with a goblet of ale. The faithful domestic suddenly entering the study, and finding, as he thought, his  
master’s

\* Principles of Laws of Scotland, edit. 1764, p. 6.

† Chambers’ Dictionary, Art. Tobacco.

‡ Applebee’s Journal, Sept. 18, 1731.



Cent. XVI. Walter then 'took' tobacco publicly, and gradually it became a general favorite; and when Stowe, a few years after its introduction, wrote of it, 'it was commonly used by *most* men and *many* women;' yet the severe annalist calls it 'that stinking weed, so much abused to God's dishonor.' James of Scotland detested the custom, and it appears that his example and influence, together with the severity of his sarcasms [53] on its followers,\* prevented its obtaining many votaries in the North.

Tilting.

The taste for tilts and tournaments had not quitted England. A romantic compliment to Elizabeth contributed to its duration. Sir Henry Lee, knight of the garter, had vowed that he would,  
each

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#### NOTES.

master's brains on fire, and evaporating in smoke and flame through his nostrils, did his utmost to extinguish the conflagration, by emptying his goblet on Sir Walter's head; and, rushing out of the room, alarmed the family with an account of the frightful scene he had witnessed. When, many years afterwards, the gallant knight's fate drew near, he smoked two pipes publicly on the scaffold.

[53] After the prolix monarch has given six copious reasons why tobacco may be said to resemble the infernal regions, he adds, 'were I to invite the devil to a dinner he should have these three dishes; 1. a pig, 2. a poole of ling and mustard, and 3. a pipe of tobacco for digesture.'

[APOPHTHEGMS.

\* Apophthegms of K. James, p. 5, printed 1671.

each year of his life, until disabled by age, present himself annually at the tilt-yard as his sovereign's knight. This gave rise to annual contentions in the lists. Twenty-five of the first persons in the nation, among whom were Lord Leicester, Sir Christopher Hatton, &c. formed a society of arms. In 1590, Sir Henry Lee, yielding to age and infirmities, resigned his honorable post, and solemnly invested the celebrated Earl of Cumberland with the envied dignity.\* This was the last effort of expiring chivalry. The successor of Elizabeth neither loved arms nor warlike sports.

Cent. XVI.

Pageants and shews of the most costly kind were the favorite amusements of the court; nor had Elizabeth more amusement in the sights, than her subjects in the narration. The chronicles of Speed and Holingshed are full of these pompous digressions, and the 'Princely Pleasures of Kenelworth Castle' have found materials for a considerable book.

The queen could however sometimes descend to more trivial sports, and could join the lowest of her people in their taste for the most barbarous of amusements; but this was not until that period, when in the decline of life, she wished to seem juvenile, sprightly, and healthful.

Elizabeth's  
more  
homely  
sports.

Y 2

' Her

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\* Pennant's London, p. 103.

Cent. XVI.

‘ Her majesty,’ says Rowland White in the Sidney Papers, ‘ *says* she is very well. This day she appoints a Frenchman to doe feates upon a rope in the conduit court. To-morrow she hath commanded the beares, the bull, and the ape, to be bayted in the tilt-yard; and on Wednesday she will have solemne dawncing.’ [54]

It

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NOTES.

[54] Selden, in his Table Talk, thus describes this amusement: ‘ The court of England is much altered; at a *solemn dancing* first you had the grave measures, then the corantoës and the galliards, and this kept up with ceremony; and at length to Trenchmore \* and the cushion dance. Then all the company dances, lord and lady, groom and kitchen maid, no distinction. So in our court, in Queen Elizabeth’s time, gravity and state were kept up; in King James’s time, things were pretty well; but, in King Charles’s time, there has been nothing but Trenchmore and the cushion dance; omnium gatherum, trolly poly, hoity toity!’

[ARTICLE, ‘ KING OF ENGLAND.’]


Another more elegant dance, the La Volta, is thus painted by Sir John Davies in his ‘ Orchestra,’ and may be supposed not unlike the German Waltz:

‘ Yet there is one, the most delightful kind,  
 A lofty jumping, or a leaping round,  
 Where, arm in arm, two dancers are entwin’d,  
 And whirl themselves, in strict embracements bound,  
 And still their feet an anapest do sound;  
 An anapest is all their music’s song,  
 Whose first two feet are short, the rest are long.’

Look to Harrington’s ‘ Orlando Furioso,’ for a more ludicrous exemplification of the La Volta. Book XV. Stanza 43.

\* Or Frenchmore.

It does not appear that Elizabeth copied her father in that warm attachment to hawking\* which had nearly cost him his life. [55] She hunted however sometimes; and her presence once at a chase, in her park at Oatlands, inspired the under-keeper, John Selwyn, with such activity, that, riding hard, and overtaking the stag, he sprung from his horse on the beast; and, after gracefully maintaining his position some time, he drew his sword, and being near the queen, plunged it in the throat of the animal,† so that it fell down dead at the feet of Elizabeth. [56]

Cent.XVI.  


The sports of the field were much followed by the nobility and gentry, but not with the same glee as when a prince was at their head. The taste, as well as the sexual propriety of Elizabeth, led her rather to patronize the gay splendor of pageants and spectacles, than the more masculine perils of the chase.

But

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#### NOTES.

[55] When, absorbed in the pursuit of his sport, he fell into a muddy ditch, and had nearly been stifled.

[56] Tradition and sculpture unite to prove this feat of agility. On his monument, in the church of Walton, Surrey, John Selwyn, is portrayed in the act of stabbing the beast. At his death, in 1587, he had five sons and six daughters living.

\* Hall's Union, fol. 139, B.

† Antiquarian Repertory, vol. i. p. 27.

Cent. XVI.

Sports of  
the lower  
class in-  
human.

But justing in the lists, pageants, and shows, hunting, hawking, &c. were the amusements chiefly of the polished ranks of society. The middling and lower people were savage and inhuman in their sports. Baiting of animals, and even more pointedly cruel [57] scenes, formed their chief pleasures; until the refined amusements of the drama, possessing themselves by degrees of the public taste, if they did not mend the morals of the age, at least forced brutal barbarity to quit the stage. While it lasted it sometimes met with sharp reprimands from the satirists of the time; and Crowley, a poet of whom little is known,

lashes

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#### NOTES.

[57] Paul Hentzner, a traveller frequently quoted in this work, after describing the baiting of bulls and bears, adds, 'To this entertainment there often follows that of whipping a blinded bear; which is performed by five or six men, standing circularly with whips, which they exercise on him without mercy, as he cannot escape from them because of his chain. He defends himself with all his force and skill, throwing down all those that come within his reach, and are not active enough to get out of it; and tearing their whips out of their hands, and breaking them. At this spectacle, and every where else, the English,' he adds, 'are constantly smoking tobacco.'

A much more harmless recreation we find recorded by the same writer. They are 'vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannon, drums, &c. So that it is common for a number of them that have got a glass in their heads, to go up into some belfry and ring the bells for hours together, for the sake of exercise.'



lashes the imprudence rather than the cruelty of bear-baiting with some spirit. Cent. XVI.

The variegated persecutions of the wretched bears were not, however, the only amusements of the lower classes. There is extant\* a licence dated 1572, permitting one John Swinton Powt-  
ter to use ‘ playes and games on nine severall Sondaies;’ and because ‘ greate resorte of people is lyke to come thereunto,’ he is to have proper persons to keep peace and quiet ‘ during the contynuance of such playes and games,’ such as ‘ shotynge with the brode arrowe,’ ‘ the leppinge for men,’ ‘ the pytchyng the barre, and the lyke.’ Other sports of the lower ranks.

In an old moralitie we find two or three other games of the sixteenth century:

‘ Give them that which is meete for them—a racket and ball, &c.

‘ Playing at coytes or nine hooles, or shooting at buttes,’ &c.†

But the games of the age seem to be most aptly thrown together by Randal Holme of Chester, who has included the sports of the younger race; some of them are unintelligible:

‘ And they dare challenge for to throw the sledge; Catalogue of such sports.

To jumpe or lepe over ditch or hedge;

To wrastle, play at stool-balle, or to runne;

To pitch the barre or to shote offe the gunne;

To

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\* Warton’s Hist. of Eng. Poetry, vol. iii. p. 328, note e.

† Dodsley’s Old Plays, vol. ii. New Custom, Act. 1. Sc. 1.

Cent. XVI.

To play at loggets, nineholes, or ten pinnes;  
 To trye it oute at foteballe by the shinnes;  
 At ticke tacke, seize noddie, maw, or ruffe;  
 Hot cockles, leape froggè, or blindman's buffe;  
 To drinke the halfer pottes, or deale att the  
 whole canne;

To play at chesse, or pue, and inke-horènne;  
 To daunce the morris, playe att barley breake;  
 At alle exploytes a man can thynke or speake;  
 Att shove-grote, venter poynte, att crosse and  
 pyle;

Att " Beshrewe him that's last att any style;"  
 Att lepynge ovir a Christmàs bon fyre,  
 Or att the "drawynge dame owte o' the myre;"  
 At " Shoote cock, Greg'ry," stoole-ball, and  
 what not;

Pickè-poynt, top, and scourge to make him  
 hotte.\*

When we have added to these the games of which Richard Brome's *Meriel*† speaks with such pleasure, viz. ' See my gossip's cock to-day?' ' Mould cockle-bread,' ' Dance clutter de pouch and hannykyn booby,' and ' Binde barrels,' we shall probably know at least the names of the favorite amusements in the sixteenth century. But the sports of the ' Lord of Misrule,' the ' Maie-games,' the ' Church-ales,' and the  
 ' Wakes,'

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\* MS. Harl. Libr. No. 2057, apud Strutt's *Customs*, &c.

† Jovial Crew, Act. 2, Sc. 1.

‘Wakes,’ are still wanting ere the catalogue be Cent. XVI.  
~~~~~ complete. The first-named of these was celebrated with a costly solemnity which proved at the same time its antiquity, and the favor in which it stood. The heads of each parish chose the ‘lord,’ and he then appointed from 20 to 100 guardsmen. Each of these put on a livery of an uniform colour, and adorned himself with rings, baubles, and bells. With these comrades the Lord of Misrule paraded, his band of music preceding, to the church, (for Sunday was the favorite day for the procession) and triumphed in drawing the attention of the congregation [58] from the preacher. The day was concluded with feasting and dancing. The ‘Maie-games’ were celebrated with somewhat more ceremony than in modern times; the Wakes, &c. are still in use, exactly as in the days of Elizabeth.

We

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#### NOTES.

[58] Nothing, the theatre excepted, galled the Puritan party so much as this wild and hardly defensible sport. Stubbs employs a double portion of acrimony against it. ‘Rich handkerchiefs in their hands, borrowed, for the most part, of their pretty Mopsies and loving Bessies.’ ‘Then have they their hobby-horses, their dragons, and other antiques, together with their bauld pipers and their thundering drummers, to strike up the devil’s daunce withal.’ ‘Their pypers pyping, their belles jynghing, their hankerchiefs fluttering about their heads like madmen, their hobbie-horses and other monsters skirmishing among the throng,’ &c. &c. &c. [ANATOMIE OF ABUSES.]

Cent. XVI.

The stage

We now come to a species of amusement which furnished pleasure to all ranks; that of the stage. The mysteries and moralities have been spoken of in another section: their extravagances were too glaring even for the unpolished audiences of Elizabeth's age, enlightened as they began to be by printing and the reformation. These solemn absurdities sunk gradually into oblivion; although some of the least eccentric were performed by the children of St. Paul's school, after the company of parish clerks had given them up, as late as the year 1618.

When the regular dramatic pieces had once gained possession of the stage, their progress was rapid. The people hailed them as mines of pleasure, and were never satiated with the ores they produced.

The earliest patent for acting 'comedies, tragedies, enterludes,' &c. which Mr. Steevens (the most accurate and diligent of searchers into scenic antiquity, and to whose 'Prolegomena' the author owns with gratitude that he owes most of the following intelligence), can produce, is dated in 1574; yet, very early in the next century, at least fifteen licensed theatres [59] were open to the inhabitants of London.

Numerous theatres.

The

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#### NOTES.

[59] Besides these public exhibitions in the dramatic line, there were many noblemen who kept, or at least protected, companies

The best plays (particularly those of Shake-<sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> spear) were acted chiefly at the 'Blackfryars' theatre, where were the most polished audiences, or at the 'Globe' on the southern bank of the Thames, which lying close to the bear-garden, had the manners of its audience much contaminated by that brutal neighbourhood. The 'Fortune' also was a large house. [60] That in Salisbury-court was small. [61] <sup>Size of theatres.</sup>

A flag was hoisted on the front of each theatre, probably only during the performance.

The price of admittance to the best places at the superior theatres was, as late as 1614, only one shilling; and at the inferior ones one penny or two pence would gain admission to an indifferent place. <sup>Prices of places.</sup>

Some

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#### NOTES.

companies of players that sometimes performed at their houses, and sometimes at the common theatres. Shakespear's *Romeo and Juliet* was acted by 'the Lord Hunsdon's servants' in 1596. Even as lately as the year 1715, Griffin's '*Injured Virtue, or the Virgin Martyr*,' was advertised as 'acted at the Richmond Theatre, by the Duke of Southampton and Cleveland's servants.'

[60] 'A roaring girl, whose notes till now ne'er were,  
Shall fill with laughter our *vast theatre*.'

[PROLOGUE TO THE ROARING GIRL.

[61] 'When other's fill'd rooms with neglect disdain ye,  
*My little house* with thanks shall entertain ye.'

[PROLOGUE TO TOTTENHAM COURT,  
ACTED AT SALISBURY COURT.



Cent. XVI.

Some of the genteelest spectators, particularly the critics, [62] sat on the stage, and paid from six to twelve pence for their stools; they were attended by pages, who furnished them with pipes and tobacco; the stage was strewed with rushes. [63] The curtain drew not up, but was drawn back on each side. [64] At the back of the stage there was a kind of gallery, eight or ten feet higher than the floor, whence the actors often spoke.

Sir Philip  
Sidney's  
raillery.

Whether or no there was a change of scenes is by no means a clear point. The humorous raillery of Sir Philip Sidney would lead us to suppose that there was none. 'Now,' says he, describing the state of the stage, 'you shall see three ladies walke to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden. By and by we heare newes of a shipwracke in the same place; then we are to blame if we accept it not for a rocke. Upon the back of that comes out a hideous monster with fire and smoke; then the miserable

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#### NOTES.

[62] 'And though you be a magistrate of wit, and *sit on the stage* at Blackfriars to arraign plaies, &c.

[PREFACE TO THE FIRST FOLIO EDITION OF  
SHAKESPEAR.

[63] 'On the verie *rushes* where the comedie is to daunce.'

[DECKER'S GULL'S HORN-BOOK.

[64] 'Now *draw* the curtaines for our scene is done.'

[EPILOGUE TO TANCRED AND GISMUNDA.

miserable beholders are bound to take it for a <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> cave. While in the mean time two armies fly in, represented with four swords and two bucklers; and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field.\*

It appears probable that the deficiency of scenes was supplied by the names of each place being written in large characters of the stage on each change. [65]

The stage was lighted with branches like those <sup>Lights.</sup> now hung in churches.

Before the exhibition began, three flourishes, <sup>Music.</sup> soundings, [66] or pieces of music were played; and music was likewise played between the acts. The instruments chiefly used were trumpets, cornets and hautboys.

The person who spoke the prologue was ushered in by trumpets, and usually wore a long black velvet cloak. [67] An epilogue was not looked on as a necessary appendage to a play.

Perukes

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#### NOTES.

[65] ‘What child is there that coming to a play, and seeing *Thebes* written upon an old door, doth believe that it is Thebes.

[66] ‘Come, let’s but think ourselves what may be found  
To deceive time with till the *second sound*.’

[NOTES FROM BLACKFRIARS, 1617.

[67] ‘As he

That with a little beard, a *long black cloak*,

\* Defence of Poesie, 1595, Sign. H 4.

With

Cent. XVI.

Perukes  
and  
masques.

Perukes and masques were part of the stage paraphernalia, and the female parts were performed, during the first hundred years of the English stage, by young men.\*

Habits  
mean.

The stage dresses were but indifferent; those even at the Globe and at Blackfriars were scantily furnished. [68]

One dramatic piece composed the whole entertainment of the day.

The amusements of the audience before the play began were various; some read or played at cards; others drank ale or smoked tobacco.

Hours of  
acting  
early.

Plays, in the early days of the drama, began about one [69] in the afternoon, and lasted generally about two hours.

Although there were no newspapers, yet the play-bills were visible every where; and the play, with all the circumstances of its horrors or its gaieties,

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#### NOTES.

With a starch'd face and supple leg, has spoke  
Before the plays this twelvemonth.'

[68] 'O curiosity! You come to see who weares the new suit to day, &c. &c. what king playes without cuffes and his queen without gloves; who rides post in stockings and dances in boots,' &c.

[INDUCTION TO 'JONSON'S STAPLE OF NEWS.'

[69] 'Fuscus doth rise at ten, and at eleven

He goes to Gyl's, where he doth eat till one,

Then sees a play.' [EPIGRAMS BY SIR J. DAVIES.

\* Prolegomena to Shakespear, p. 29.

gaities, was brought before the public eye upon <sup>Cent. XVI.</sup> posts [70] and public places.

When an author sold his play to the stage, the Price of a customary price was twenty nobles,\* or six <sup>play.</sup> pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence. On the first day of a new piece the price of admission was raised. [71]

Dramatic poets had entrance to the theatres gratis. [72]

The custom of passing a final sentence† on a Catcalls. play on its first exhibition began with the theatres, and the assistance of the catcalls [73] was even then invoked by the critics.

Plays

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#### NOTES.

[70] 'Master Field the player riding fast up Fleet-street was called to by a gentleman, and asked "what was the play?" He, angry at being stopped for such a trifle, cried, "You may see it on every post." "Cry you mercy!" said the gentleman, "I took *you* for a post, you rode so fast.'

[TAYLOR, THE WATER POET'S 'WIT AND MIRTH.'

[71] 'So when the Fox had ten times acted been,  
Each *day* was *first*, but that 'twas cheaper seen.'

[VERSES BY J. MAYNE, TO THE MEMORY OF  
BEN JONSON.

[72] 'They grace you with a chayre *upon the stage*,  
And take no money of you, nor your page.'

[NOTES FROM BLACKFRIARS, 1617.

[73] Decker, in his 'Gull's Hornbook,' advises the snarling critic to '*whew*' at the children's action, to whistle at the songs, and to *mew* at the passionate speeches.

\* Prolegomena, p. 43.

† Ibid. p. 46.

Cent.XVI. Plays were performed on Sundays [74] only,   
 Acting on for some time; but after 1579 they were acted   
 Sundays. on Sundays and other days indiscriminately.\*

Such was the state of the English stage at the commencement of the seventeenth century. It flourished apparently; but it had for its foes a race of men, stern, inflexible, and unforgiving; who, by incessant obloquy and reproach (not always unmerited) pursued it first to unpopularity, and at length to annihilation.

Manners of the theatres reprehensible. The prejudices of the Puritans against dramatic entertainments were from the beginning very strong, and not altogether ill-founded, if we may trust to the representation of Stowe, Holingshed, &c. The licentiousness of the stage was indeed so great, that it became necessary (after the lord-mayor and other magistrates had in vain tried to reform it) to obtain an order of the queen and council to mark the proper restrictions for the conduct of the actors ‘But,’ says Stowe, ‘these orders were not so well observed as they should be; the lewd matters of plays increased,’ and they were thought dangerous to religion, the state, honesty of manners. and also for infection in the time of sickness. On these accounts they were afterwards,

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#### NOTES.

[74] ‘And seldom have they leisure for a play  
 Or masque except upon God’s holiday.’

\* Prolegomena, p. 34.



wards, for some time, (within the limits of the Cent. XVI.  
city of London) totally suppressed.\* This suppression was probably very short.

In another place he acrimoniously remarks of the theatres,

‘ Here maids and good citizens children were inveigled and allured to private and unmeet contracts; here were publicly uttered popular and seditious matters; unchaste, uncomely, and unshamefaced speeches; and many other enormities.’ And again,

‘ The people assembled at the *whore-ater* (the *the-atre* I would say) were so amazed that they made haste to be gone.’ Thus wofully and puritanically puns the well-meaning Holingshed, speaking of the shock of an earthquake felt at London in 1580.† But these censures were candid and gentle compared to those which abounded in the treatises of the day. [75]

In

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### NOTES.

[75] ‘ If,’ says one of the most acrid, ‘ you will learne falshood and cosenage; to deceive and to play the hypocrite; to cog, to lie, and falsifie; if you will learne to jest, to laugh, to fleere, to grinne, to nodde and mowe; to play the vice, to sweare, teare, and blaspheme both heaven and earth; if you will learne to become a baud, uncleane, to devirginate maides, to defloure honest wives; if you will learne to murther, slay, picke,

\* Survey of London, Book V. p. 246.

† Holingshed, 1311, 30.

Cent. XVI.

Company  
of young  
comedi-  
ans.

In a pamphlet printed in 1649 is the earliest notice of the young company of comedians formed of the royal choristers. It is called the 'Children of the Chapel, stript and whipt,' and says, 'Plaies will never be supprest while her majestie's unfledged minions flaunt it in silkes and sattens. They had as well be at their Popish service in the divell's garments.' The work proceeds with language still more scurrilous.

Scottish  
sports.

If we are to judge of the attachment of the Scottish gentry to the sports of the field, by the number of laws made to secure their game, it must be great indeed, since the prohibitory acts passed by the legislature, during the latter half of the sixteenth century, are numerous and severe. One of the earliest promulgated in the infancy of Queen Mary, A. D. 1555,\* very rationally forbids the treading down fences, young wood, corn, &c. and directs that no partridge should be killed before St. Michael's day.

Game  
acts.

The last act of the prohibitory kind, before the accession of James to the English crown, is found in

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#### NOTES.

picke, steal, rob and rove; if you will learne to play the whoremaster, the glutton, drunkard, or incestuous person, &c. &c. &c. you neede go to no other school.'

[STUBS' ANATOMIE OF ABUSES.

\* Stat. 51, Parl. 6. Marie.

in 1690. \* It is remarkably minute, and describes Cent. XVI.  
 by name nineteen sorts of game which are neither  
 to be bought or sold on penalty of one hundred  
 pounds. It closes with a limitation as to the  
 time of beginning ‘to eate moor poute, or par-  
 tridge poute;’ before which period ‘for youth  
 neither are they habite to give pastime, and for  
 quantity can be no wise ane great refreshment.’

Barclay, in his treatise ‘Contra Monarchoma- Royal chase.  
 chos,’ gives an interesting account of a costly  
 hunting match contrived in 1563 by the Earl of  
 Athol, (a prince of the blood-royal) for the  
 amusement of the unfortunate Mary Stuart. Two  
 thousand highlanders were employed to drive all  
 the deer from the countries around; and two  
 thousand red deer, besides roes and fallow deer,  
 and *some wolves*, were brought together. The  
 leading stag of the herd, taking fright, burst  
 through the crowd, and was followed by the  
 whole corps of animals. Several of the high- Dangerous.  
 landers were wounded, and two or three slain  
 outright. The rear, however, of the herd being  
 cut off, there fell 360 deer, five wolves, and some  
 roes.

The traditional tales of Robin Hood had passed Robin Hood.  
 the borders, and supplied the Scots with a sport  
 probably too riotous to be licensed; since we find

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a severe

#### NOTES.

\* Stat. 23, Parl. 15 Jac. VI.

Cent. XVI a severe act made against all such as shall 'chuse or be chosen Robin Hude or Little John, Abbot of Unreason, or Queen of the May.' [76] Women were, by the same statute, forbidden to 'make perturbation about summer trees singand' on pain of being 'taken, handled, and put upon the auck-stule.'\*

Game of  
Golf.

The game of 'Golf' appears to be peculiar to the Scots, † and to have been of very antient practice among them. Even as early as A. D. 1457, there was a law enacted ‡ to restrain that game, and foot ball, as lessening the attention to archery. It is played commonly on rugged broken ground, covered with short grass and bents, in the neighbourhood of the sea-shore. A field of this sort is, in Scotland, called 'Links.' The game is generally played in parties of one or two on each side. Each party has an exceedingly hard ball, somewhat larger than a hen's egg; this

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#### NOTES.

[76] In 1561, the men of Edinburgh were so much disgusted with the prohibition of this favorite spectacle, that they flew to arms, robbed passengers, rescued a comrade condemned to death, and broke in pieces the gibbet on which he was to have suffered; confined their magistrates in the tolbooth, and in the end obtained an indemnity by force. It is probable that this riotous game continued unmolested, since the General Assembly, in 1592, complain of the profanation incident to the Sabbath, by 'making of Robin Hood.'

\* Stat. 61, Parl. 20 Jac. VI. † Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 360.

‡ Stat. 64, Parl. 14. Jac. II.

this they strike with a slender and elastic club, Cent. XVI.  
 about four feet long, which is made heavy by an  
 addition of lead. A ball struck by this club will  
 fly 200 yards; and the game is gained by the  
 party which can, with the fewest strokes, direct  
 the ball to a mark or hole in the ground.

Theatrical representations, chiefly drawn from Dramatic  
amuse-  
ments.  
 the Scriptures, had been as frequent in Scotland as  
 in the South; they had descended thence to sub-  
 jects of a more familiar kind, which were brought  
 forward with the most gross indelicacy. [77]  
The

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#### NOTES.

[77] A MS comedy, written by Sir David Lyndsay, was preserved in the extensive collection of the late Mr. Garrick. The subject was, the ingenuity of a wanton wife and her gallants in outwitting the jealousy of a husband, aided by a foreign precaution. This gross plot was treated with consistent indelicacy; the husband, however, after much suspicion, satisfied of his wife's chastity, closes the drama thus:

‘ By my good faith, Bess, that is true,  
 That I suspected you, sore I sue;  
 I trow there be no man in Fife  
 That ever had so good a wife.  
 My own sweetheart, I hold it best  
 That we sit down and take our rest.’

The prologue to this play is ingeniously contrived to act as a play-bill for the next performance. It says,

‘ Our purpose is, on the sev'nth day of June,  
 (a) If weather serve, and we have rest and peace,  
 We shall be seen into our playing place,  
 In good array, about the hour of seven,’ &c. &c.

(a) By the second line it may be observed that the piece was performed ‘sub dio’ in the open air, and that probably the scene of acting was not totally out of the reach of civil commotion.



**Cent. XVI.** The place where these performances were exhibited was called 'the Play-field.' Few towns of note were without them; that of Edinburgh was at the 'Greenside well,' that of Coupar, in Fife, was on their Castle-hill.\*

Abolished by the reformers,

Favored by James VI.

One of the first operations of the reformers was to prohibit all plays which were founded on Scriptural stories; and, when they gained more power in the cabinet, as well as over the minds of their hearers, they abolished all kind of dramatic entertainments. But this gloomy cessation lasted not long; James VI. tired of the ungracious restriction, determined to gratify his taste for the stage, and wrote to Elizabeth for a company of English comedians. Pleased to have the power of obliging him, she sent instantly a detachment from her own players. In vain did the clergy menace the strangers with excommunication. The king supported the actors, and reprimanded the petulance of the preachers; and, the love of pleasure superseding the dread of clerical censure, the theatre was crowded every evening. Little more is heard of these emigrants, so that it is probable that they returned to London, when their royal patron took possession of the English throne.

At the close of this volume, when history is hastening to a new and still more polished period,


let

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\* Arnot's Edinburgh, p. 76.

† Book of Universal Kirk, p. 145, 161.

let a moment's grateful recollection be given to the liberal spirit which enlightened the sixteenth century. An æra which rescued literature from oblivion, and the arts from neglect, and which relieved a large district of Europe from fetters, forged by superstition, and riveted by ambition. It has brought forward the good fortune of the German Charles and his son Philip, which added the continent of America to their vast dominions in Europe; the generous fervor of the Gallic Francis, vying with the taste and bounty of Leo X. in the protection of arts, and the encouragement of their professors; the persevering intrepidity of Gustavus Vasa, which redeemed Sweden at the same time, from the tyranny of the Roman pontiff, and of the inhuman Christiern of Denmark; the ferocious valor of the Russian John Basilowitz (himself a gross barbarian) emancipating his countrymen from the yoke of the Tartars, still less civilized than the men of Russia; and, lastly, in England, it has shewn the impetuous caprice of Henry VIII. the honest zeal of Edward, and the steady policy of Elizabeth, form and perfect a reformation in religion, on principles so rational as to have produced a respected and venerable system, remaining firm and unshaken to the present day, and acknowledged (even by the general foes of episcopacy) to be the most moderate of ecclesiastical establishments.

Cent. XVI.  




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## APPENDIX.

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### No. I.

**T**HE following extract is taken from a very antient dramatic piece, entitled ‘Ludus Conventriæ, sive Ludus Corporis Christi;’ and will give some idea of the ‘Mysterie’ so much followed by the first and rude admirers of the stage.

In one of the scenes the angels appear surrounding the celestial throne, and singing Holy! Holy! Holy! &c. &c. &c.

Then says Lucifer,

‘To who’s worshyp synge ye thys songe?’

To worshyp Godde, or to reverence mee?

But \* ye worshyp mee, ye doo mee wronge,

For I am the worthiest that ever may bee.’

The

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\* Except.

The angels reply,

‘ Wee worship Godde, of myhte most stronge,

Whych has formèd both us and thee ;

Wee may never worshyp hym too longe,

For hee’s most worthy of magestee.

On knees to God we falle ;

Our Lorde worship wee,

In no wyse honowr thee ;

A gretter Lord may never none bee

Than he that made us alle.’

Lucifer now asserts his own importance ; and, to evince his power, sits down on the throne of his Maker. A chorus of evil angels sings,

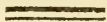
‘ Goddes myhte wee forsake,

For more worthy wee thee take ;

Thee to worship, honor wee make ;

Ande falle downe at thy fete.’

The Supreme being then enters, and, after a menacing speech, exiles the impious spirit, and those who took his part, to the infernal shades.\*



\* MS in Cotton’s Library, apud Strutt’s Customs, part iii. p. 138.



## No. II.

THE catalogue beneath is copied from 'a very merie and pythie commedie,' entitled 'The longer thou livest, the more Fool thou art.' It comprehends, probably, nearly all the beginnings and burthens of the favorite ballads during the reigns of Edward VI. Mary I. and Elizabeth.

'Here entreth Moros, counterfayting a vaine gesture and a foolish countenance, synging the foote of many songes, as fooles are wont.

Moros.

"Brome, Brome, on Hive-hill;  
The gentle Brome on Hive-hill;  
The Brome stands on Hive-hill-a."

"Robin, lende me thy bowe, thy bowe,  
Robin lende me thy bowe-a."

"There was a mayde come out of Kent,  
Deintie love, Deintie love.

There was a mayde come out of Kent,  
Daingerous bee.

There was a mayde come out of Kent,  
Faire and proper, smalle and gent,  
As ever upon the ground ywent,  
For so should it bee."

"By

“ By a banke as I lay, I lay,  
Musing on thingès past, heyho !”

“ Tom ò Lyn and his wyfe, and his wyfe’s  
mother,  
They went o’er a bridge all three together ;  
The bridge was broken, they all fell in,  
The devill go with all, quoth Tom ò Lin.”

“ Martin Swart and his men, Sodledum, So-  
dledum,  
Martin Swart and his men, Sodledum Bell.”

“ Come over the bourne, Besse ! my pretty  
little Besse !  
Come o’er the bourne, Besse, to me.”

“ The white dove sate on the castle wall,  
I bende my bowe, and shoot her I shall ;  
I put her in my glove, feathers and all.”

“ I layde my bridle upon a shelve ;”  
If you will any more, sing them yourself.

Moros proceeds, after an interruption,  
‘ I have twenty moe songs yet, a fonde woman  
to my mother,  
As I war wont in her lappe to sit, she taught  
me these and many other.  
I can sing a song of “ Robin Redbreast,”  
And “ My little pretie Nightingale.”

“ There

“ There dwells a jollie for’ster here by the West,”  
And “ I come to drinke some of your Christmas  
ale.”

When I walk by myself alone, it doth me good  
my songs to render,  
Such prettie thinges would soon be gone, if I  
should not sometime them remember.’

Moros, after another interruption, says,  
‘ Before you go let’s have a songe, I can reach up  
to solfa and past.”

Idleness.

‘ Thou hast songes good store, sing one,  
And we three the foote will beare.’

Moros.

‘ Let me study, it will come anone,  
Pe pe, la, la, la, it is too hye there.’

After some tuning (not without humor), Moros  
sings,

‘ I have a pretie titmouse  
Come picking on my toe ;’

Chorus.

‘ Gossupe, with you I purpose  
To drinke before I goe.’

Moros.

‘ Little pretie nightingale, amonge the braunches  
green,’

Chorus.

‘ Geve us of your Christmasse ale, in honor of  
St. Ste’en.’

Moros.

Moros.

‘ Robin Redbreaste, with his notes,  
Singing alofte in the quere,’

Chorus.

‘ Warneth to get you freeze cotes,  
For winter draweth nere.’

Moros.

“ My bridle lyeth on the shelve.”  
‘ If you will have any more  
Vouchsafe to sing it yourselfe,  
For here you have all my store.’

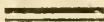
Wrath.

‘ A song much lyke th’ author o’th’ same,  
It hangeth together like fethers in winde.’

Moros.

‘ This song learned I of my dame,  
When she taught me mustard-sede to  
grinde.’\*

Add to these what follow from the ‘ Letter  
describing the Pleasures of Kenelworth Castle.’  
‘ Sa wo is me begon, Molly lo.’ ‘ Over a whinny  
Meg, Hey ding-a-ding.’ ‘ My bony one gave  
me a bek,’ &c. &c.



\* Apud ‘ A Dissertation on Antient Songs and Music.’  
Printed A. D. 1792. London.

## No. III.

THE following stanzas taken from a satirical ballad, written by the acute Sir Richard Maitland, will enable the reader to form some idea of the miseries sustained by the industrious and pacific inhabitants of the Northern counties of each sister-kingdom, before the accession of James of Scotland to the English crown. The humane and patriotic bard condescends to mention, by their ‘nick-names,’ the most celebrated among those sons of rapine.

‘Thay leif richt nocht quhairever thay ga;  
 Thair can na thing be hid thame fra;  
 For gif men wald  
 Thair housis hald, then waxe thay bald,  
 To burn and slae.  
 The thief that steals and tursis hame,\*  
 Ilk ane of them has ane to-name;†  
 “Will of the lawis,” “Hob of the schawis,”  
 to make bare wawis,‡  
 They think no shame.

Thay

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\* Bundles up stolen goods.

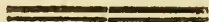
† Nick-name.

‡ Walls.



Thay spuillzie \* puir men of their pakis,†  
 Thay leve them nocht on bed or bakis,  
 Baith hen and cok, with reel and rok, the  
 “ Landis Jok,”  
 All with him takis.

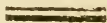
They leif not spendil, spone nor spit,  
 Bed, bolster, blanket, sark, nor sheit ;  
 John of the Parke, rypis ‡ kyste and arke, for  
 all sik warke  
 He is richt meit.’



## No. IV.

THE eccentric song beneath is given as a specimen of those compositions which offended Mary Queen of Scots, and brought on ‘ all ballads, rhimes,’ &c. &c. a severe prohibition by statute. §

‘ With



\* Spoil or plunder.

† Packs, goods.

‡ Breaks open chest and box.

§ Stat. Parl. 5, cap. 27, Qu. Marie.

With hunts up, with hunts up,  
It is now perfect day ;  
Jesus our king is gone a hunting,  
Who likes to speed they may.  
An cursed fox, lay hid in rocks,  
This long and many a day,  
Devouring sheep, while he might creep,  
None might him shape away.  
It did him good to lap the blood  
Of young and tender lambs ;  
None could him miss, for all was his,  
The young ones with their dams.  
The hunter's Christ, that hunts in haste,  
The hounds are Peter and Paul ;  
The Pope is the fox, Rome is the rocks  
That rubs us on the gall.  
That cruel beast, he never ceast,  
By his usurped power,  
Under dispence, to get our pence,  
Our souls to devour,  
Who could devise such merchandise  
As he had there to sell,  
Unless it were proud Lucifer,  
The great mastèr of hell.  
He had to sell the Tantonie bell,  
And pardons therein was,  
Remission of sins, in old sheep-skins,  
Our souls to bring to grace.

With bulls of lead, white wax and red,  
 And other whiles in green,  
 Closed in a box, this used the fox,  
 Such poultry was never seen.'

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No. V.

EPITAPH, written by James VI. on his Chancellor, Sir John Maitland, of Lethington :

' Thou, passenger, that spies with gazing eyes,  
 This trophie sad of death's triumphant dart,  
 Consider, when this outward tomb thou sees,  
 How rare a man leaves here this earthly part ;  
 His wisdom, and his uprightness of heart ;  
 His piety ; his practice of our state ;  
 His quick engine,\* so verst in every art,  
 As equally that all were in debate:

Thus

---

\* Ingene, ingenuity.

Thus justly hath his death brought forth of  
late

An heavy grief to prince and subjects all  
That vertue love, and vice do bear at hate,  
Though vitious man rejoices at his fall.  
So for himself most happy did he die,\*  
Though for his prince it most unhappy bee.'

## No. VI.

THE following animated description of an in-  
human sport† appears in a letter to Mr. Martin,  
a mercer

### NOTES.

\* Pronounced, in Scotland, 'dee.'

† The following spirited censure on bear-baiting was written  
by one Crawley, an unpolished, and almost unknown, bard of  
Elizabeth's age :

'What folly is this? to keep with danger  
A great mastiff dog, and a fowle ouglie bear.  
And to this an end, to see them two fight,  
With terrible tearings, a ful ouglie sight!  
And methinkes those men are most fooles of all,  
Whose store of money is but veri small;

a mercer in London, by an officer attendant on the court, 'on the Soomer's Progreſt,' A. D. 1575. The work is very ſcarce, and has, beſides its

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NOTES.

And yet everi Sunday they wil ſurely ſpend  
 One peny or two, the bearwards living to mend !  
 At Paris-Garden, each Sunday, a man ſhall not fail  
 To find two or three hundred for the bearward's vail.  
 One halfp'ny a piece they uſed for to give,  
 When ſome have not more in their purſe I believe.  
 Well ! at the laſt day their conſcience will declare,  
 That the poor ought to have al thât they may ſpare ;  
 If you therefore give to ſee a bear fight,  
 Be ſure God his curſe upon you will light !'

It fell out, not long after the ſpecies of prophetic warning, given in the laſt line, was publiſhed, that the whole building fell down at the time of a baiting, and on a Sunday. The exultation of the Puritan 'Stubbs,' on this event, is equally uncharitable and boundleſs. He records with triumph the *death* of ſeven, and the *wounds* and *bruises* of near 300 ſpectators. 'Some,' ſays he, 'had their brains daſhed out, ſome their heads alſo quaſhed, ſome their legges broken, ſome their armes, &c. This heavie judgement the Lord ſent down from heaven to ſhowe,' &c. &c. [ANATOMIE OF ABUSES.

Had the fanatics of the day pointed their cenſures at the inhumanity practiſed on the poor, over-matched bear, their ſcurrility might have had ſomewhat to plead in its excuſe ; but a catastrophe at a dramatic theatre, which bruised and maimed many, is related with equal joy ; and even the graceful, and generally innocent, exerciſe of dancing, is ſtyled 'the noble ſcience of heathen devilrie ;' and the cenſures which follow this denunciation are much too groſs for a decent hiſtorian to inſert.



its vivacity, an additional merit; as it presents the reader with the true London dialect and orthography at that period:

‘ Well, Syr, the beerz wear brought foorth into the court, the dogs wear set too them, to argu the pointz cum face to face. They had learn’d counsel also a’both partis. Very feers both t’one and t’other, and eager in argument. If the dog in pleadyng woold pluck the bear by the thrate, the bear with travers woold claw him again by the scalp. *Confess* an he list, but *avoyd* a’coold not, that waz bound too the bar. Thearfore thus, with fending and prooving, with plucking and tugging, skratting and bytyng, by playn tooth and nayll, a’ t’one side and t’other, such expens of blood and leather waz thear between them, as a month’s licking, I ween, will not re-coover.

‘ It waz a sport very pleazaunt of theeze beastz, to see the bear with his pink nyez leering after hiz enmie’z approach; the nimbleness and wayt (waiting) of the dog too to take hiz avauntage; and the fors and experiens of the bear agayn to avoyd the assault. If he wear bitten in one place, hoow he woold pynch in anoother, too get free; that if he wear taken onez, than, what shyft with bytyng, with clawyng, with roryng, tossing, and tumblyng, he woold woorke too wynde hymselfe from them. And when he was lose, to shake  
his

his ears twyse or thryse with the blud and slaver  
about his fiznamy; waz a matter of a goodly re-  
leef,' &c.

## No. VII.

THOSE who wish to know the height to which the love of peagants and shews was carried in the reign of Elizabeth, may consult a treatise, entitled 'The Princely Pleasures of Kenelworth Castle.' There were on the pool (now no more) floating islands, the lady of the lake, Tritons riding on mermaids eighteen feet long, plays, bear-baiting, running at quintain, &c. There was Arion on a huge dolphin; a bridge, seventy feet long and twenty wide, built on purpose for the queen; and all the Pagan deities, with suitable presents. Nor was Elizabeth ungrateful for these showy homages she knighted some friends of Leicester, and she conferred on Kenelworth a weekly market and a yearly fair.

An entertainment made for her at Norwich, in 1578, was profusely magnificent. Some parts  
of

of it were eccentric. Mercury paraded before her in a 'coch, the whole whereof was covered with birds and naked spirits, hanging by the heeles in the aire, and cloudes cunningly painted out, as though by some thunder-cracke they had been shaken and tormented.'

The patience of the queen must have been great if she lent her ear to the diffuse composition of the Norfolk bards. Their songs were moral and loyal, but they were very prolix. They honored their sovereign by praising chastity. Some of their verses were not contemptible; for instance,

‘ Lewd life is laugh’d to scorne,

And put to great disgrace;

In hollow caves it hides the head,

And walks with muffled face.

Found out, ’tis pointed at,

A monster of the minde;

A canker’d worme, that conscience hates,

Which strkies clere senses blinde.’

The good-natured reader will be sorry to hear that a thunder-storm destroyed the finest part of the pageant, and that the city of Norwich was half ruined by the loss of ‘velvets, silks, tinsels, and cloth of golde.’ The chronicler\* speaks feelingly, as he was wet to the skin, he tells us, on the occasion.

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\* Holingshed, vol. ii. p. 1237.



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END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

